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A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,
IN TEN VOLUMES,
By the ABBÉ RAYNAL.

Newly tranſlated from the French,
By J. O. JUSTAMOND, F. R. S.

WITH A
NEW SET OF MAPS ADAPTED TO THE WORK,
AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR W. STRAHAN; AND T. CADELL,
IN THE STRAND.
MDCCLXXXIII.

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SEVENTH VOLUME.

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A New Order of Things is eſtabliſhed in the French Colonies in North America. Reſult of theſe Arrangements.

THE war carried on for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, had raiſed a ferment in the four quarters of the world, which for the two laſt centuries have felt the effects of that reſtleſs ſpirit with which Europe hath been agitated. All kingdoms were ſhaken by the conteſts excited on account of one,

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which, under the dominion of Charles V. had ſtricken terror into them all. The influence of a houſe whoſe ſovereignty extended over five or ſix ſtates, had raiſed the Spaniſh nation to a pitch of greatneſs which could not but be extremely flattering to her. At the ſame time another houſe, whoſe power was ſtill ſuperior, becauſe with a leſs extent of territory it had a greater degree of population, was ambitious of giving the law to that haughty nation. The names of Auſtria and Bourbon, which had been rivals for two hundred years, were now exerting their laſt efforts to acquire a ſuperiority, which ſhould no longer be conſidered as precarious or doubtful between them. The point of conteſt was, which ſhould have the greateſt number of crowns, to boaſt the poſſeſſion of. Europe, divided between the claims of the two houſes, which were not altogether groundleſs, was inclined to allow them to extend their branches, but would not permit that ſeveral crowns ſhould center in one houſe, as they formerly did. Every power took up arms to diſperſe or divide a vaſt inheritance; and reſolved to diſmember it, rather than ſuffer it to be attached to one, which, with this additional weight of ſtrength, muſt infallibly deſtroy the balance of all the reſt. As the war was ſupported by each party with numerous forces and great ſkill, with warlike people and experienced generals, it continued a long time: it deſolated the countries it ſhould have ſuccoured, and even ruined nations that had no concern in it. Victory, which ſhould have determined the conteſt, was ſo variable,

that

that it ſerved only to increaſe the general flame. The ſame troops that were ſucceſsful in one country, were defeated in another. The people who conquered by ſea, were routed on land. The news of the loſs of a fleet and the gaining of a battle arrived at the ſame time. Succeſs alternately favoured each party, and by this inconſtancy ſerved only to complete the mutual deſtruction of both. At length, when the blood and treaſure of the ſeveral ſtates were exhauſted, and after a ſeries of calamities and expences that had laſted twelve years, the people who had profited by their misfortunes, and were weakened by their conteſts, were anxious of recovering the loſſes they had ſuſtained. They endeavoured to find in the New World the means of peopling and re-eſtabliſhing the Old. France firſt turned her views towards North-America, to which ſhe was invited by the ſimilarity of ſoil and climate, and the iſland of Cape-Breton became immediately the object of her attention.

The French, to recover their former loſſes, people and fortify Cape-Breton; and eſtabliſh conſiderable fiſheries there.

The Engliſh conſidered this poſſeſſion as an equivalent for all the French had loſt by the treaty of Utrecht, and not being entirely reconciled to them, ſtrongly oppoſed their being allowed to people and fortify it. They ſaw no other method of excluding them from the cod-fiſhery, and making the entrance into Canada difficult for their ſhips. The moderation of queen Anne, or, perhaps, the corruption of her miniſters, prevented France from being expoſed to this freſh mortification: and ſhe was authoriſed

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to make what alterations ſhe thought proper at Cape-Breton.

THIS iſland is ſituated at the entrance of the gulph of St. Lawrence, between the 45th and 47th degrees of north latitude. Newfoundland lies to the eaſt, on the ſame gulph, and is only 15 or 16 leagues diſtant from it; and to the weſt, Acadia is only ſeparated from the iſland by a ſtreight not more than three or four leagues over. Cape-Breton, thus ſituated between the territories ceded to it's enemies, threatened their poſſeſſions, while it protected thoſe of France. The iſland meaſures about 36 leagues in length, and 22 in it's greateſt breadth. It is ſurrounded with little ſharp-pointed rocks, ſeparated from each other by the waves, above which ſome of their tops are viſible. All it's harbours open to the eaſt, turning towards the ſouth. On the other parts of the coaſt there are but a few anchoring-places for ſmall veſſels, in creeks, or between iſlets. Except in the hilly parts, the ſurface of the country has but little ſolidity, being every where covered with a light moſs and with water. The dampneſs of the ſoil is exhaled in fogs, without rendering the air unwholeſome. In other reſpects, the climate is very cold, which is owen either to the prodigious quantity of lakes, which cover above half the iſland, and remain frozen a long time, or to the number of foreſts, that totally intercept the rays of the ſun; the effect of which is beſides decreaſed by perpetual clouds.

THOUGH ſome fiſhermen had long reſorted to Cape-Breton every ſummer, not more than twenty

or thirty had ever fixed there. The French, who took poſſeſſion of it in Auguſt 1713, were properly the firſt inhabitants. They changed it's name into that of Iſle Royale, and fixed upon fort Dauphin for their principal ſettlement. This harbour was two leagues in circumference. The ſhips, which came to the very ſhore, were completely ſheltered from winds. Foreſts affording oak ſufficient to build and fortify a large city, were near at hand; the ground appeared leſs barren than in other parts, and the fiſhery was more plentiful. This harbour might have been made impregnable at a trifling expence, but the difficulty of approaching it, (a circumſtance that had at firſt made a ſtronger impreſſion than the advantages reſulting from it), occaſioned it to be abandoned after great labour had been beſtowed upon it. The French then turned their views to Louiſbourg, the acceſs to which was eaſier, and convenience was thus preferred to ſecurity.

The harbour of Louiſbourg, ſituated on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, is at leaſt a league in depth, and above a quarter of a league broad in the narroweſt part. It's bottom is good, the ſoundings are uſually from ſix to ten fathom, and it is eaſy to tack about in it either to ſail in or out even in bad weather. It includes a ſmall gulph very commodious for refitting ſhips of all ſizes, which may even winter there, with proper precautions. The only inconvenience attending this excellent harbour is, that it is frozen up from November till May, and frequently continues ſo till June. The entrance, which is naturally

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narrow, is alſo guarded by Goat Iſland; the cannon of which playing upon a level with the ſurface of the water, would ſink ſhips of any ſize, that ſhould attempt to force the paſſage. Two batteries, one of thirty-ſix, the other of twelve twenty-four pounders, erected on the two oppoſite ſhores, would ſupport and croſs this formidable fire.

The town is built on a neck of land that runs into the ſea, and is about half a league in circuit; the ſtreets are broad and regular. Almoſt all the houſes are made of wood. Thoſe that are of ſtone were conſtructed at the expence of the government, and are deſtined for the reception of the troops. A number of wharfs have been erected, that project a conſiderable way into the harbour, and are extremely convenient for loading and unloading the ſhips.

The fortification of Louiſbourg was only begun in 1720. This undertaking was executed upon very good plans, and is ſupplied with all the works that can render a place formidable. A ſpace of about a hundred toiſes only, was left without ramparts on the ſide next the ſea, which was thought ſufficiently defended by it's ſituation. It was cloſed only with a ſimple dyke. The ſea was ſo ſhallow in this place, that it made a kind of narrow canal, inacceſſible, from the number of it's reefs, to any ſhipping whatever. The fire from the ſide baſtions completely ſecured this ſpot from any attack.

The neceſſity of bringing ſtone from Europe, and other materials proper for theſe great works, ſometimes

ſometimes retarded their progreſs, but never made them be diſcontinued. Thirty millions* were expended upon them. This was not thought too great a ſum for the ſupport of the fiſheries, for ſecuring the communication between France and Canada, and for obtaining a ſecurity or retreat to ſhips in time of war coming from the ſouthern iſlands. Nature and ſound policy required that the riches of the ſouth ſhould be protected by the ſtrength of the north.

In the year 1714, the French fiſhermen, who till then had lived in Newfoundland, arrived in this iſland. It was expected that their number would ſoon have been increaſed by the Acadians, who were at liberty, by the treaties, to remove with all their effects, and even to diſpoſe of their eſtates. But theſe hopes were diſappointed; the Acadians choſe rather to retain their poſſeſſions under the dominion of England, than to give them up for any precarious advantage they might derive from their attachment to France. Their place was ſupplied by ſome diſtreſſed adventurers from Europe, who came over from time to time to Cape-Breton, and the inhabitants of the colony gradually increaſed to the number of four thouſand. They were ſettled at Louiſbourg, Fort Dauphin, Port Toulouſe, Nericka, and on all the coaſts, where they found a proper beach for drying the cod.

The inhabitants never applied themſelves to agriculture, the ſoil being unfit for it. They

* 1,250,000l.

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have often attempted to ſow corn, but it ſeldom came to maturity; and when it did thrive ſo much as to be worth reaping, it had degenerated ſo conſiderably, that it was not fit for ſeed for the next harveſt. They have only continued to plant a few pot-herbs that are tolerably well taſted, but the ſeed of which muſt be renewed every year. The poorneſs and ſcarcity of paſtures has likewiſe prevented the increaſe of cattle. In a word, the ſoil of Cape-Breton ſeemed calculated to invite none but fiſhermen and ſoldiers.

THOUGH the iſland was entirely covered with foreſts before it was inhabited, it's wood has ſcarce ever been an object of trade. A great quantity, however, of ſoft wood was found there fit for firing, and ſome that might be uſed for timber; but the oak has always been very ſcarce, and the fir never yielded much reſin.

THE peltry trade was a very inconſiderable object. It conſiſted only in the ſkins of a few lynxes, elks, muſk rats, wild cats, bears, otters, and foxes, both of a red and ſilver grey colour. Some of theſe were procured from a colony of Mickmac Indians, who had ſettled on the iſland with the French, and never could raiſe more than ſixty men able to bear arms. The reſt came from St. John's, or the neighbouring continent.

GREATER advantages might poſſibly have been derived from the coal mines which abound in the iſland. They lie in a horizontal direction, and being no more than ſix or eight feet below the ſurface, may be worked without digging deep, or draining off the waters. Notwithſtanding the prodigious

prodigious demand for this coal from New-England, from the year 1745 to the year 1749, theſe mines would, probably, have been forſaken, had not the ſhips which were ſent out to the French iſlands wanted ballaſt.

THE whole induſtry of the colony has conſtantly been exerted in the cod fiſhery. The leſs wealthy inhabitants employed yearly two hundred boats in this fiſhery, and the richeſt, fifty or ſixty veſſels from thirty to fifty tons burthen. The ſmall craft always kept within four or five leagues of the coaſt, and returned at night with their fiſh, which being immediately cured, was always in the utmoſt degree of perfection it was capable of. The larger ſmacks went to fiſh further from ſhore, kept their cargo for ſeveral days, and as the cod was apt to be too ſalt, it was leſs valuable. But this inconvenience was compenſated by the advantage it gave them of purſuing the fiſh, when the want of food compelled it to leave the iſland; and by the facility of carrying, during the autumn, the produce of their labours to the ſouthern iſlands, or even to France.

BESIDE the fiſhermen ſettled on the iſland, others came every year from France to dry their fiſh, either in the habitations, in conſequence of an agreement made with the owners, or upon the beach, which was always reſerved for their uſe.

THE mother-country regularly ſent them ſhips laden with proviſions, liquors, wearing apparel, houſehold goods, and all things neceſſary for the inhabitants of the colony. The largeſt of theſe ſhips, having no other concern but this trade, returned

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turned to Europe as ſoon as they had bartered their lading for cod. Thoſe from fifty to a hundred tons burden, after having landed their little cargo, went a fiſhing themſelves, and did not return till the ſeaſon was over.

THE people of Cape-Breton did not ſend all their fiſh to Europe. They ſent part of it to the French ſouthern iſlands, on board twenty or twenty-five ſhips, from ſeventy to a hundred and forty tons burthen. Beſide the cod, which made at leaſt half their cargo, they exported to the other colonies, timber, planks, thin oak boards, ſalted ſalmon and mackarel, train oil, and ſea-coal. All theſe were paid for in ſugar and coffee, but chiefly in rum and molaſſes.

THE iſland could not conſume all theſe commodities. Canada took off but a ſmall part of the overplus; it was chiefly bought by the people of New-England, who gave in exchange fruits, vegetables, wood, brick, and cattle. This trade of exchange was allowed, but a ſmuggling trade was added to it, conſiſting of flour, and a conſiderable quantity of ſalt fiſh.

NOTWITHSTANDING this circulation, which was all carried on at Louiſbourg, moſt of the coloniſts were extremely poor. This was owen to the dependence their indigence had ſubjected them to on their firſt arrival. Unable to procure the neceſſary implements for the fiſhery, they had borrowed ſome at an exceſſive intereſt. Even thoſe who were not at firſt reduced to this neceſſity, were ſoon obliged to ſubmit to the hard terms of borrowing. The dearneſs of ſalt and proviſions,

proviſions, together with the ill ſucceſs of their fiſhery, ſoon compelled them to it, and they were inevitably ruined by being obliged to pay twenty or five and twenty per cent. a year for every thing they borrowed.

Such is, at every inſtant, the relative ſituation of the indigent man who ſolicits aſſiſtance, and of the opulent citizen, who grants it only on terms ſo hard, that they become, in a ſhort time, fatal to the borrower and to the creditor; to the borrower, becauſe the profit he reaps from the ſum borrowed cannot yield as much as it hath coſt him; and to the creditor, becauſe in the end he can no longer be paid by a debtor, whom his uſury ſoon renders inſolvent. It is a difficult matter to find out a remedy to this inconvenience; for the lender muſt finally have his ſecurities, and it is neceſſary that the intereſt of the ſum lent ſhould increaſe in proportion to the riſque of the ſecurity.

There is on both ſides an error of calculation, which a little juſtice and benevolence on the part of the lender might remedy. The lender ſhould ſay to himſelf: The unhappy man who applies to me is ſkilful, laborious, and œconomical; I will aſſiſt him, in order to raiſe him from miſery. Let us ſee what his induſtry, turning out to the beſt advantage, will yield, and let us not lend to him; or if we ſhould reſolve to lend to him, let the intereſt we require upon the ſum borrowed be leſs than the produce of his labour. If the intereſt and the produce were equal, the debtor would always remain in a ſtate of miſery; and the

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the leaſt unexpected accident would bring on his bankruptcy, and the loſs of my capital. If, on the contrary, the produce ſhould exceed the intereſt, the fortune of the debtor will be annually increaſing, and conſequently the ſecurity of the capital I have intruſted to him will become greater. But unfortunately, a rapacious ſpirit doth not argue in the ſame manner as a ſpirit of prudence and humanity. There are ſcarce any contracts and leaſes between the rich and the poor, to which thoſe principles are not applicable. If a man ſhould wiſh to be paid by his farmer, in good as well as bad ſeaſons, he muſt not rigorouſly exact from him all that his land can yield; otherwiſe, if his barns ſhould be ſet on fire, it is at the landlord's expence that they are conſumed. A deſire to proſper alone often makes proſperity eſcape from us. It is ſeldom that the profit of one man can be totally ſeparated from that of another. A man will always be the dupe of him who knowingly promiſes more than he can perform; while the latter will be the dupe of the former, ſhould he be ignorant of the event. He who unites prudence with honeſty, will neither deceive others, nor be deceived himſelf.

Settlement of the French in the iſland of St. John. Tendency of this undertaking.

All the French colonies of New France were not from their firſt eſtabliſhment deſtined to ſuch diſtreſs. The iſland of St. John, more favourably ſituated, has been more favourable to it's inhabitants. It lies further up the gulph of St. Lawrence, is twenty-two leagues long, and not much above a league at it's greateſt breadth. It bends in the form of a creſcent, both ends terminating

nating in a ſharp point. Though the right of this iſland had never been diſputed with France, yet ſhe ſeemed to pay no regard to it till the peace of Utrecht. The loſs of Acadia and Newfoundland drew their attention to this ſmall remaining ſpot, and the government began to inquire what uſe could be made of it.

It appeared that the winters were long there, the cold extreme, with abundance of ſnow, and prodigious quantities of inſects; but that theſe defects were compenſated by a healthy coaſt, a good ſea-port, and commodious harbours. The country was flat, enriched with fine paſtures, watered by an infinite number of rivulets and ſprings; the ſoil exceedingly diverſified, and fit for the culture of every kind of grain. There was plenty of game, and multitudes of wild beaſts; amazing ſhoals of fiſh of all ſorts; and a greater number of ſavage inhabitants than were found on any other of the iſlands. This circumſtance alone was a proof how much it was ſuperior to the reſt.

The report that was ſpread of this in France, gave riſe to a company in 1619, which formed the deſign both of clearing this fertile iſland, and of eſtabliſhing a great cod fiſhery there. Unfortunately, intereſt, which had brought the adventurers together, ſet them at variance again, before they began to execute the plan they had projected. St. John was again forgotten, when the Acadians began to remove to that iſland in 1749. In proceſs of time they increaſed to the number of three thouſand one hundred and fifty-four.

As

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As they were for the moſt part huſbandmen, and particularly accuſtomed to the breeding of cattle, the government thought proper to confine them to this employment; and the cod fiſhery was only allowed to be carried on by thoſe who ſettled at Tracadia, and St. Peter.

PROHIBITIONS and monopolies, while they are a reſtraint upon induſtry, are equally detrimental to the labours that are permitted, and to thoſe that are forbidden. Though the iſland of St. John does not afford a ſufficient extent of ſea-ſhore, fit for drying the vaſt quantities of cod that come in ſhoals to the coaſts, and though the fiſh is too large to be eaſily dried, yet it was incumbent upon a power whoſe fiſheries are not ſufficient for the conſumption of it's own ſubjects, to encourage this kind of employment. If there were too few drying-places for the quantity that could be caught, that which is called green cod might eaſily have been prepared, which alone would have made a valuable branch of commerce.

BY confining the inhabitants of St. John to agriculture, they were deprived of all reſource in thoſe unfortunate ſeaſons that happen frequently on the iſland, when the crops are devoured by the field mice and graſshoppers. The exchanges which the mother-country could and ought to have made with her colony, were reduced to nothing. Laſtly, in attempting to favour agriculture, it's progreſs was obſtructed, by laying the inhabitants under an impoſſibility of procuring the neceſſary articles for extending it.

ONLY

ONLY one or two ſmall veſſels came annually to the iſland from Europe, and landed at Port La Joie, where they were ſupplied with all they wanted from Louiſbourg, and paid for it in wheat, barley, oats, pulſe, oxen, and ſheep. A party of fifty men ſerved rather to regulate their police, than to defend them. Their commanding-officer was dependent on Cape Breton, which was itſelf under the controul of the governor of Canada. The command of this laſt officer extended to a great diſtance, over a vaſt continent, the richeſt part of which was Louiſiana.

Diſcovery of the Miſſiſſippi by the French.

THIS extenſive and beautiful country, which the Spaniards formerly comprehended under the name of Florida, was for a long time unknow'n to the inhabitants of Canada. It was not till 1660 that ſuch a country was ſuppoſed to exiſt. At this period they were told by the ſavages, that to the weſt of the colony, there was a great river, which flowed neither to the North nor to the Eaſt, and they concluded that it muſt therefore empty itſelf into the gulph of Mexico, if it's courſe were ſouthward, or into the South Sea, if it were weſtward. The care of aſcertaining theſe two important facts, was committed, in 1673, to Joliet, an inhabitant of Quebec, a very intelligent, man, and to the Jeſuit Marquette, whoſe mild and benevolent manners had ſecured to him the general affection of all the inhabitants.

THESE two men, equally diſintereſted, equally active, and equally zealous for their country, immediately ſet out together from the lake Michigan, entered the river of the Foxes, which empties

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ties itſelf into that lake, and went up almoſt to the head of the river, notwithſtanding the currents which render that navigation difficult. After ſome days march, they again embarked on the river Ouiſconſing, and keeping always weſtward, came to the Miſſiſſippi, and ſailed down that river as far as the Akanſas, about the 33d degree of latitude. Their zeal would have carried them further, but they were in want of proviſions; they were in an unknow'n country, and they had only three or four men along with them: beſides, the object of their voyage was fulfilled, ſince they had diſcovered the river they had been in ſearch of, and were certain of it's courſe. Theſe conſiderations determined them to return to Canada, acroſs the country of the Illinois, a numerous people, who were well inclined to a friendly intercourſe with the French nation. Without concealing or exaggerating any particular, they communicated to the chief of the colony all the information they had procured.

Among the inhabitants of New France at that time, was a Norman, named La Salle, who was equally deſirous of making a great fortune, and of eſtabliſhing a brilliant reputation. This man had ſpent his younger years among the Jeſuits, where he had contracted that activity, enthuſiaſm, and firmneſs, which thoſe fathers ſo well know how to inſtil into their diſciples, when they meet with young men of quick parts, with whom they are fond of recruiting their order. La Salle, who was a bold and enterprizing man, fond of availing himſelf of every opportunity to diſtinguiſh

guiſh himſelf, and anxious even to ſeek out ſuch opportunities, beheld in the diſcovery that had been made, a vaſt career open to his ambition and to his genius. In concert with Frontenac, governor of Canada, he embarked for Europe, went to the court of Verſailles, was liſtened to, almoſt even with admiration, at a time when both the prince and the people were inſpired with a paſſion for great actions. He returned loaded with favours, and with orders to complete what had been ſo fortunately begun.

This was a great project; but in order to render the execution of it uſeful and permanent, it was neceſſary, by forts placed at different diſtances, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the countries that ſeparated the Miſſiſſippi from the French ſettlements; and to gain the affection of the coloniſts, either wandering or ſedentary, that were contained in this vaſt ſpace. Theſe operations, ſlow in their nature, were ſtill retarded by unexpected incidents; by the malevolence of the Iroquois, and by the repeated mutinies of the ſoldiers, who were continually irritated by the deſpotiſm and reſtleſſneſs of their chief. Accordingly, La Salle, who had begun his preparatives in the month of September 1678, could not ſail till the ſecond of February 1682, on the great river, which was the end of his wiſhes and expectations. On the 9th of April he diſcovered the mouth of it; which, as it had been conjectured, was in the Gulph of Mexico; and he returned to Quebec in the ſpring of the following year.

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He immediately ſet out for France, to propoſe the diſcovery of the Miſſiſſippi by ſea, and the eſtabliſhment of a great colony upon the fertile ſhores watered by that river. He perſuaded the court, by his eloquence, or by his arguments; and four ſmall veſſels were given to him, with which he ſet ſail towards the Gulph of Mexico. This ſmall fleet miſſed the place of their deſtination, by ſteering too far weſtward, and arrived, in the month of February 1685, in the bay of St. Bernard, diſtant a hundred leagues from the mouth of the river where it was intended to enter. The irreconcileable hatred which was conceived between La Salle and Beaujeu, commander of the ſhips, rendered this error infinitely more fatal than it ought to have been. Theſe two haughty men, impatient of ſeparating from each other, reſolved to land the whole of their embarkation upon the very coaſt where they had been conducted by chance. After this deſperate meaſure the ſhips went away, and there only remained upon theſe unknow'n coaſts, one hundred and ſeventy men, moſt of them very corrupt, and all of them diſpleaſed, not without reaſon, with their ſituation. They had but few tools, a ſmall quantity of proviſions, and little ammunition. The remainder of what was to ſerve for the foundation of the new ſtate, was ſwallowed up by the waves, from the perfidy, or wickedneſs, of the ſea-officers intruſted with the landing of them.

The proud and unſhaken ſoul of La Salle was not however depreſſed by theſe misfortunes.

Suſpecting that the rivers, which diſcharged themſelves in the bay where he had entered, might be ſome of the branches of the Miſſiſſippi, he ſpent ſeveral months in clearing up his doubts. Undeceived in theſe expectations, he neglected the object of his expedition. Inſtead of looking for guides among the ſavages, who would have directed him to the place of his deſtination, he choſe to penetrate into the inland countries, and to inform himſelf of the famous mines of St. Barbe. He was wholly taken up with this abſurd project, when he was maſſacred by ſome of his companions, who were incenſed at his haughtineſs, and the violence of his diſpoſition.

The death of La Salle ſoon occaſioned the reſt of his company to diſperſe. The villains who had murdered him fell by each other's hand. Several incorporated with the natives. Many periſhed by hunger and fatigue. The neighbouring Spaniards loaded ſome of theſe adventurers with chains, and they ended their days in the mines. The ſavages ſurpriſed the fort which had been erected, and ſacrificed every thing to their fury. Seven men only eſcaped theſe numerous diſaſters; and theſe, wandering as far as the Miſſiſſippi, came to Canada by the Ilinois country. Theſe diſtreſſes ſoon made the French loſe ſight of a region which was ſtill but little know'n.

The attention of the miniſtry was again rouzed in 1697, by Yberville, a gentleman of Canada, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome very bold and fortunate attempts at Hudſon's Bay, in Aca-

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dia, and Newfoundland. He was ſent out from Rochfort with two ſhips, and diſcovered the Miſſiſſippi in 1699. He ſailed up the river as far as the country of the Natchez, and after having aſcertained, by his own obſervation, every advantageous circumſtance that had been reported of it, he conſtructed, at the mouth of it, a ſmall fort, which did not continue more than four or five years, and proceeded to another ſpot to ſettle his colony.

The French ſettle in the country that is watered by the Miſſiſſippi, and call it Louiſiana.

BETWEEN the river and Penſacola, a ſettlement newly erected by the Spaniards in Florida, is a coaſt of about forty leagues in extent, where no veſſel can land. The ſoil is ſandy, and the climate burning. Nothing grows there but a few ſcattered cedars and fir-trees. In this large track, there is a diſtrict called Biloxi. This ſituation, the moſt barren and moſt inconvenient upon the whole coaſt, was made choice of for the reſidence of the few men whom Yberville had brought thither, and who had been allured by the moſt ſanguine expectations.

Two years after a new colony arrived. The firſt was removed from the parched ſands on which it had been ſettled, and they were both united upon the banks of the Mobile. This river is navigable only for Indian boats, and the lands that are watered by it are not fertile. Theſe were ſufficient motives for giving up the idea of ſuch a ſettlement; which, however, was not done. It was determined that theſe diſadvantages would be compenſated by the facility of communication with the neighbouring ſavages, with

with the Spaniards, with the French iſlands, and with Europe. The harbour which was to form theſe communications, was not attached to the continent. It was placed, by chance, either fortunately or otherwiſe, at ſome leagues diſtance from the coaſt, in a deſert, barren, and ſavage iſland, which was decorated with the great name of Dauphin Iſland.

A COLONY ſettled on ſuch bad foundations could not poſſibly proſper. The death of Yberville at ſea, who periſhed gloriouſly before the Havannah in 1706, in the ſervice of his country, put an end to the ſmall remaining hopes of the moſt ſanguine coloniſts. France was ſo deeply engaged in an unhappy war, that no aſſiſtance could be expected from her. The coloniſts thought themſelves totally forſaken, and thoſe who entertained ſome hopes of finding a ſettlement in another place, haſtened to go in ſearch of it. The colony was reduced to twenty-eight families, each more wretched than the other, when, to the aſtoniſhment of every one, Croſat petitioned for and obtained the excluſive trade of Louiſiana in 1712.

THIS was a famous merchant, who by his vaſt and prudent undertakings had raiſed an immenſe fortune. He had not given up the thoughts of increaſing his wealth, but he was deſirous that his new projects ſhould contribute to the proſperity of the monarchy. This noble ambition made him turn his views towards the Miſſiſſippi. The clearing of it's fertile ſoil was not his

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aim. His intention was to open communications, both by land and ſea, with Old and New Mexico, to pour in all kinds of merchandize into thoſe parts, and to draw from thence as much ore as he could. The place he aſked for, appeared to him to be the natural and neceſſary mart for his vaſt operations; and all the ſteps taken by his agents were regulated upon this noble plan. But being undeceived by ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, he relinquiſhed his ſcheme, and, in 1717, reſigned his charter to a company whoſe ſucceſs aſtoniſhed all nations.

Louiſiana becomes very famous in the time of Law's ſyſtem. Reaſon of this.

THIS company was formed by Law, that celebrated Scotchman, of whom no ſettled judgment could be formed at the time he appeared, but whoſe name now ſtands between the crowd of mere adventurers and the ſhort liſt of great men. This daring genius had made it his buſineſs, from his infancy, to obſerve attentively the ſeveral powers of Europe, to examine their various ſprings, and to calculate the ſtrength of each. The ſtate into which the inordinate ambition of Louis XIV. had plunged the kingdom of France, particularly attracted his attention, which was now fixed upon a heap of ruins. An empire, which during the ſpace of forty years had excited ſo much jealouſy, and ſo much anxiety among all it's neighbours, no longer diſplayed any degree of vigour or animation. The nation was exhauſted by the demands of the treaſury; and the treaſury by the enormity of their engagements. In vain had the public debts been reduced,

duced, in hopes of enhancing the value of thoſe that ſtill remained. This bankruptcy of government had but imperfectly produced that kind of good that was expected from it. The bills of government were ſtill infinitely below their original value.

It became neceſſary to open a mart for theſe bills, to prevent them from falling into total diſcredit. The mode of reimburſement was impracticable; for the intereſt for the ſums due, abſorbed, almoſt entirely, the revenues of government. Law contrived another expedient. In the month of Auguſt 1717, he eſtabliſhed, under the title of the Weſtern Company, an aſſociation, whoſe funds were to conſiſt in government bills. This paper was received for it's whole value, although it loſt fifty per cent. in the courſe of trade. Accordingly, the capital, which was only of 100,000,000 of livres *, was completed in a few days. It is true, that with theſe ſingular proceedings, it was not poſſible to found a powerful colony in Louiſiana, as the excluſive charter ſeemed to require: but the author of theſe novelties was ſupported by an expectation of another kind.

No ſooner had Ponce de Leon landed at Florida, in 1512, than a rumour was ſpread, throughout the Old and the New World, that this region was full of metals. Theſe had not been diſcovered, either by Francis de Cordova, or by Velaſquez de Ayllon, or by Philip de Narvaez,

* 4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.

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or by Ferdinand de Soto, although theſe enterprizing men had ſearched for them with incredible fatigue during thirty years. Spain had at length renounced theſe hopes; ſhe had not even left any trace of her enterprizes; and notwithſtanding this, a vague report had remained among the minds of the people, that theſe countries concealed immenſe treaſures. No one pointed out the preciſe ſpot where theſe riches might lie; but this circumſtance itſelf tended to encourage the exaggeration of them. If at intervals the enthuſiaſm grew cooler, it was only to ſeize upon the minds of men more powerfully ſome time after. This general diſpoſition towards an eager credulity, might become a wonderful inſtrument in the hands of ſkilful perſons.

In times of misfortune, the people are agitated by their hopes, in the ſame manner as they are by their fears, or by their rage. When they are actuated with rage, all the public places are in an inſtant filled with a multitude in commotion, which threatens and roars aloud. The citizen ſhuts himſelf up in his houſe; the magiſtrate trembles on his tribunal, the ſovereign is oppreſſed with anxiety in his palace. When night comes on, the tumult ceaſes, and tranquillity is reſtored. When the people are under the impreſſion of terror, univerſal conſternation diffuſes itſelf in an inſtant from one city to another, and plunges the whole nation into a ſtate of deſpondency. When the people are elated with hopes, the phantom of happineſs preſents itſelf not leſs rapidly on all ſides. It raiſes the ſpirits of all men,

men, and the noiſy tranſports of joy ſucceed to the gloomy ſilence of misfortune. On one day every thing is loſt, on the other all is ſaved.

Of all the paſſions that are kindled in the heart of man, there is none which is ſo violent in it's intoxication as the paſſion for gold. We are all acquainted with the country where the moſt beautiful women are to be found, and yet we are not tempted to viſit it. Sedentary ambition exerts itſelf in a narrow compaſs. The rage of conqueſt is the malady of a ſingle man, who draws the multitude after him. But let us ſuppoſe all the people of the earth to be equally civilized, and the thirſt of gold will diſplace the inhabitants of one and of the other hemiſphere. Setting out from the two extremities of the diameter of the equator, they will croſs each other in their way from one pole to the other.

Law, to whom this great ſpring of action was well know'n, eaſily perſuaded the French, who were moſt of them ruined, that the mines of Louiſiana, which had ſo long been ſpoken of, were at length diſcovered; and that they were even far richer than they were generally ſuppoſed to be. To give the greater weight to this falſe report, which had already gained too much credit, a number of miners were ſent over to work theſe mines, which were imagined to be ſo valuable, with a body of troops ſufficient to defend them.

It is inconceivable what a ſudden impreſſion this ſtratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty. Every man exerted himſelf to acquire

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quire the right of partaking of this ſource of wealth, which was conſidered as inexhauſtible. The Miſſiſſippi became the center of all men's wiſhes, hopes, and ſpeculations. It was not long before ſome wealthy and powerful men, moſt of whom were thought to be perſons of underſtanding, not ſatisfied with ſharing the general profit of the monopoly, became deſirous of obtaining a private property in a region which paſſed for one of the beſt countries in the world. Cultivators were wanted for the clearing of thoſe domains, and were abundantly ſupplied by France, Switzerland, and Germany. Theſe men, after having worked three years without ſalary, for the perſons who had been at the expence of conveying them to the ſpot, were to become citizens, and be put in poſſeſſion of lands, in order to clear them on their own account.

During the courſe of this frenzy, or in the years 1718 and 1719, all theſe unfortunate people were promiſcuouſly crowded together in ſhips. They were not landed at Dauphin Iſland, the harbour of which had lately been choked up by ſands; nor were they ſet on ſhore at Mobile, which had loſt every thing ſince it had loſt it's port: but it was at Biloxi, that dreadful ſpot, where all the natives, as well as foreigners who had been ſeduced, were placed. There they all periſhed by thouſands, with want and vexation. In order to preſerve them, it was only neceſſary to have conveyed them up the Miſſiſſippi, and landed them immediately upon the country they were to clear; but ſuch was the unſkilfulneſs or

neglect

neglect of the managers of the enterprize, that they never thought of conſtructing the boats neceſſary for ſo ſimple a manœuvre. Even after they found that the ſhips coming from Europe could moſt of them ſail up the river, Biloxi ſtill continued to be the grave of thoſe unhappy and numerous victims who had fallen a ſacrifice to a political impoſture. The head-quarters were not removed to New-Orleans till five years after, that is, till hardly any were left of thoſe unfortunate people who had been weak enough to quit their native country upon ſuch uncertain proſpects.

But at this period, when it was too late, the charm was diſſolved, and the mines vaniſhed. Nothing remained but the ſhame of having been miſled by chimerical notions. Louiſiana ſhared the fate of thoſe extraordinary men who have been too highly extolled, and are afterwards puniſhed for this unmerited fame, by being degraded below their real worth. Men ſtrive, by the exceſs of cenſure, to perſuade others that they have not given into the common error; for how can it be ſuppoſed that they would violently perſiſt in ſpeaking ill of themſelves? This inchanted country was now holden in execration. It's very name became a reproach. The Miſſiſſippi was the terror of free men. No recruits were to be found to ſend thither, but ſuch as were taken from priſons and houſes of ill fame. It became the receptacle of the loweſt and moſt profligate perſons in the kingdom.

What could be expected from a ſettlement compoſed of ſuch perſons? Vicious men will neither

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ther people a country, nor labour, nor continue long in any place. Many of thoſe miſerable perſons who had been tranſported into theſe ſavage climates, went into the Engliſh or Spaniſh ſettlements, to exhibit the diſagreeable view of their diſtreſs and miſery. Others ſoon periſhed, from the infection they had brought along with them. The greater number wandered in the woods, till hunger and wearineſs put an end to their exiſtence. Nothing was yet begun in the colony, though twenty-five millions of livres* had been ſunk there. The managers of the company that advanced theſe vaſt ſums fooliſhly pretended, that in the capital of France they could lay the plan of ſuch undertakings as were fit for America. Paris, unacquainted with it's own provinces, which it deſpiſes and exhauſts, would have ſubmitted every thing to the operations of theſe haſty and frivolous calculators. From the office of the company, they pretended to regulate and direct all the inhabitants of Louiſiana, and to impoſe or withhold ſuch reſtraints as were judged favourable or unfavourable to the monopoly. Had they granted ſome trifling encouragements to citizens of character, who might have been invited to ſettle in the colony, by ſecuring to them that liberty which every man covets, that property which every man has a right to expect from his own labour, and that protection which is due from every ſociety to it's members; ſuch encouragements as theſe, given to proprietors

* 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.

well

well informed of their real intereſt and property, directed by the circumſtances of the place, would have been productive of far greater and more laſting effects; and would have eſtabliſhed more extenſive, ſolid, and profitable ſettlements, than all thoſe an excluſive charter could ever have formed with all it's treaſures, diſpenſed and managed by agents who could neither have the knowlege requiſite to conduct ſo many various operations, nor even be influenced by any immediate intereſt in their ſucceſs.

The miniſtry, however, thought it conducive to the welfare of the ſtate, to leave the concerns of Louiſiana in the hands of the company; which were under a neceſſity of exerting all their intereſt to obtain permiſſion to alienate that part of their privilege. They were even obliged to purchaſe this favour in 1731, by paying down the ſum of 1,450,000 livres *. For there are ſome ſtates, where the right of being involved in ruin, and that of being preſerved from it, or that of acquiring wealth, are equally ſold; becauſe good or evil, whether public or private, may prove an object of finance.

During all the time that an excluſive charter had kept Louiſiana in ſhackles, it had required, according to the diſtances, fifty, ſixty, fourſcore, and a hundred per cent. profit, upon all the merchandize which it uſed to ſend there; and had alſo regulated, by a rate ſtill more oppreſſive, the price of the commodities which the colony deli-

* 60,416l. 13s. 4d.

vered

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vered to it. How was it poſſible that an infant ſettlement could make any progreſs under the yoke of a tyranny ſo atrocious? Accordingly, the diſcouragement became univerſal. To reſtore to the minds of men their energy, government was deſirous that a poſſeſſion, which was become a truly national one, ſhould experience a happier fate. With this view they decreed, that every article which the trade of France ſhould convey into this country, and every thing it ſhould bring back from thence, ſhould be exempted for ten years from all duties of export and import. Let us ſee to what degree of proſperity an arrangement ſo prudent raiſed this celebrated region.

Extent, ſoil, and climate of Louiſiana.

LOUISIANA is a vaſt country, bounded on the north by the ſea; on the eaſt by Florida and Carolina; on the weſt by New Mexico; and on the north by Canada, and by unknow'n lands, which are ſuppoſed to extend as far as Hudſon's Bay. It is impoſſible to aſcertain preciſely the exact length of it; but it's mean breadth is two hundred leagues.

THROUGHOUT ſuch an extent, the climate varies conſiderably. Fogs are too frequent in Lower Louiſiana, in ſpring and autumn; the winters are rainy, and at diſtant intervals attended with a ſlight froſt: moſt of the ſummer days are ſpoilt by violent ſtorms. The heats are not ſo exceſſive in any part of this extenſive territory as might be expected from it's latitude. This phœnomenon, which ſeems extraordinary to a common obſerver, may be accounted for by natural philoſophers, from

from the thick foreſts, which prevent the rays of the ſun from heating the ground; the numberleſs rivers, which keep it conſtantly damp; and the winds, which blow from the north over a long extent of land.

THOUGH diſeaſes are not very common in Upper Louiſiana, they are ſtill more unfrequent in the Lower. This is, however, nothing more than a ſlip of land of two or three leagues in extent, overrun with inſects, with ſtagnated waters, and with vegetable ſubſtances, which putrify in a damp and warm atmoſphere, the conſtant principle of the diſſolution of bodies. In this climate, where all dead bodies generally undergo a rapid putrefaction, men enjoy a more ſettled ſtate of health, than in thoſe regions which to all appearance are more healthy. Except the tetanos, which carries off half the Negro children before they are twelve days old, and a great number of white children, there is ſcarce any diſeaſe know'n in that country, except ſome hyſterical affections, and obſtructions, which may even be conſidered as a natural conſequence of the kind of life which is led there. From whence can the ſalubrity of the air proceed? Perhaps it is owen to the frequent thunders which are hear'd upon this narrow ſoil. Perhaps to the winds which almoſt conſtantly prevail there. Perhaps to the fires which it is neceſſary to kindle in order to deſtroy the numerous reeds which impede the cultures.

THIS ſoil muſt have appeared extremely fertile, before any trials had been made of it, ſince it abounded with wild fruits. It furniſhed a liberal

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beral proviſion for a great number of birds and fallow-deer. The meadows, formed by nature alone, were covered with roebucks and biſons. The trees were remarkable for their bulk and height, and woods for dying were only wanting, for thoſe grow merely between the tropics. Theſe favourable omens have been ſince confirmed by fortunate experiments.

The ſource of the river which divides this immenſe country from north to ſouth, hath not yet been diſcovered. The boldeſt travellers have ſcarce gone higher than two hundred leagues above the fall of St. Anthony, which ſtops the courſe of it by a caſcade of ſome height, about the 46th degree of latitude. From thence to the ſea, that is, throughout the ſpace of 700 leagues, the navigation is not interrupted. The Miſſiſſippi, after being enlarged by the river of the Illinois, the Miſſouri, the Ohio, and a great number of ſmall rivers, maintains an uninterrupted courſe, till it falls into the ocean. All circumſtances concur to prove, that the bed of this river is conſiderably extended, and that it's bottom is almoſt recent ground, ſince not a ſingle ſtone is to be found in it. The ſea throws up here a prodigious quantity of mud, leaves of reeds, boughs and ſtumps of trees, that the Miſſiſſippi is continually waſhing down; which different materials being driven backward and forward, and being collected together, form themſelves into a ſolid maſs, continually tending to the prolongation of this vaſt continent.

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THE river hath not any regular periods of increaſe or decreaſe; but, in general, it's waters are higher from the month of January to that of June, than they are through the reſt of the year. The bed of the river being very deep at the upper part, it ſeldom overflows on the eaſt ſide, till it comes within ſixty leagues of the ſea, nor on the weſt, till within a hundred leagues; that is to ſay, in the low lands, which we imagine to be recent. Theſe muddy grounds, like all others that have not yet acquired a due conſiſtence, produce a prodigious quantity of large reeds, in which all extraneous bodies waſhed down the river are entangled. Theſe bodies all joining together, and added to the ſlime that fills up the interſtices, in proceſs of time form a maſs, that raiſes the banks higher than the adjacent ground, which forms on each ſide an inclined plain. Hence it happens, that the waters having once got out of their natural courſe, never get into it again, and are therefore obliged to run on to the ocean, or to form themſelves into ſmall lakes.

WHEN the breadth and depth of the Miſſiſſippi are alone conſidered, we are induced to think that the navigation is eaſy. It is, on the contrary, very tedious, even in coming down; becauſe it would be dangerous by night in dark weather, and becauſe inſtead of the light canoes made of bark, which are ſo convenient in the reſt of America, it is neceſſary to employ larger boats, which are conſequently heavier, and not ſo eaſily managed. Without theſe precautions,

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the boats would be in continual danger of ſtriking againſt the boughs or roots of trees, which are dragged along in great quantities by the ſtream, and are frequently fixed under water. The difficulties are greater ſtill in going up the river.

At ſome diſtance from land, before we enter the Miſſiſſippi, care muſt be taken to keep clear of the floating wood that is come down from Louiſiana. The coaſt is ſo flat, that it can hardly be ſeen at the diſtance of two leagues, and it is not eaſy to get up to it. The river empties itſelf into the ſea by a great number of openings. Theſe openings are conſtantly varying, and moſt of them have but little depth of water. When the ſhips have happily ſurmounted all theſe obſtacles, they may ſail without any difficulty ten or twelve leagues, over a country ſunk under water, where the eye perceives nothing but reeds, and a few ſhrubs. Then, upon each ſhore, they meet with thick foreſts, which they paſs by in two or three days, unleſs calms, which are rather frequent in ſummer, ſhould retard their progreſs. The reſt of the navigation, upon a ſtream ſo rapid, and ſo full of currents, is performed in boats that go with oars and ſails, and are forced to paſs on from one point of land to another; and though they ſet out by break of day, are thought to have made a conſiderable progreſs, if they have advanced five or ſix leagues by the cloſe of the evening. The Europeans engaged in this navigation, are attended by ſome Indian huntſmen, who follow by land, and ſupply them with ſubſiſtence during the three months and a half that are employed

in going from one extremity of the colony to the other.

These difficulties of ſituation are the greateſt which the French have had to ſurmount in forming ſettlements at Louiſiana.

The Engliſh, ſettled in the Eaſt, have been always ſo aſſiduouſly employed in their plantations, that they have never thought of any thing but of extending and improving them. The ſpirit of conqueſt or of plunder hath not diverted them from their labours. Had they been inclined to jealouſy, the French did not behave ſo as to excite it.

The Spaniards, unfortunately for themſelves, were more turbulent in the Weſt. The deſire of removing an active neighbour from New Mexico induced them, in 1720, to adopt the ſcheme of forming a conſiderable colony far beyond the boundaries within which they had hitherto confined themſelves. The numerous caravans that were to compoſe this colony ſet out from Santa Fé. They directed their march towards the Ozages, whom they wiſhed to induce to take up arms againſt their eternal enemies, the Miſſourys, whoſe territory they had reſolved to occupy. The Spaniards miſſed their way, and came directly to that nation the ruin of which they were meditating; and miſtaking theſe Indians for the Ozages, communicated their deſign without any reſerve.

The chief of the Miſſourys, who became acquainted, by this ſingular miſtake, with the danger that threatened him and his people, diſſem-

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bled his reſentment. He told the Spaniards, he would gladly concur in promoting the ſucceſs of their undertaking, and only deſired eight and forty hours to aſſemble his warriors. When they were armed, to the number of two thouſand, they fell upon the Spaniards, whom they had amuſed with ſports, and ſlew them in their ſleep. All were maſſacred, without diſtinction of age or ſex. The chaplain, who alone eſcaped the ſlaughter, owed his preſervation to the ſingularity of his dreſs. This cataſtrophe having ſecured the tranquillity of Louiſiana, on the ſide where it was moſt threatened, the colony could only be moleſted by the natives; but theſe, although more numerous at that time than they are in our days, were ſtill not very formidable.

General character of the ſavages of Louiſiana, and of the Natchez in particular.

THESE ſavages were divided into ſeveral nations, all of them very feeble, and all at enmity with each other, though ſeparated by immenſe deſerts. Some of them had a fixed abode. Their dwellings were only made of leaves interwoven with each other, and faſtened to a number of ſtakes. Thoſe who did not go quite naked, were only covered with the ſkins of fallow deer. They lived upon the produce of hunting and fiſhing, upon maize, and ſome fruits. Their cuſtoms were nearly the ſame as thoſe of the ſavages of Canada, but they had not the ſame degree of ſtrength and courage, of quickneſs and ſagacity; and their character was leſs marked.

AMONG theſe nations, the Natchez were the moſt remarkable. They paid obedience to one man, who ſtyled himſelf GREAT SUN; becauſe

becauſe he bore upon his breaſt the image of that luminary, from which he claimed his deſcent. The whole buſineſs of government, war, and religion, depended upon him. All the world could not perhaps have produced a ſovereign more abſolute. His wife enjoyed the ſame authority, and the ſame honours. When any of theſe enſlaved ſavages had the misfortune to diſpleaſe either of theſe maſters, they uſed to ſay to their guards, *Rid me of that dog*, and were inſtantly obeyed. Every thing of the beſt that was afforded by hunting, fiſhing, or culture, the ſavages were compelled to bring to them. On the demiſe of either the huſband or the wife, it was neceſſary that many of their ſubjects ſhould alſo die, that they might attend and ſerve them in the next world. The religion of the Natchez was limited to the adoration of the Sun; but this belief was accompanied with many ceremonies, and conſequently attended with miſchievous effects. There was, however, but one temple for the whole nation: it was once ſet on flames by the fire which is perpetually, or at leaſt habitually kept in it; and this event occaſioned a general conſternation. Many fruitleſs efforts were made to ſtop the progreſs of the flames. Some mothers threw their children into them, and at length the fire was extinguiſhed. The next day theſe barbarous heroines were extolled in a diſcourſe delivered by the deſpotic pontiff. It is thus that his authority was maintained. It is aſtoniſhing how ſo poor and ſo ſavage a people could be ſo cruelly enſlaved. But ſuperſtition accounts for all the

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unreaſonable actions of men. That alone could deprive a nation of it's liberty, which had little elſe to loſe.

Most of the accounts affirm, upon the uncertain faith of ſome tradition, that the Natchez occupied for a long time the eaſtern coaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, from the river Iberville to the Ohio; that is to ſay, a ſpace of four hundred leagues. In that caſe they muſt have formed the moſt flouriſhing nation of North America. It may be ſuſpected, that the yoke under which they were kept by an oppreſſive and arbitrary government, diſguſted them of their native country. They muſt have diſperſed themſelves: and this opinion ſeems to be in ſome meaſure confirmed by the circumſtance of our finding various traces of their worſhip at great diſtances in theſe regions. It is certain, that when the French appeared in Louiſiana, this people conſiſted of no more than two thouſand warriors, and formed only a few towns, ſituated at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, but all of them near the Miſſiſſippi.

This want of population did not prevent the country of the Natchez from being excellent. The climate is wholeſome and temperate; the ſoil ſuſceptible of rich and varied cultures; the territory ſufficiently elevated to preclude all fears from the inundations of the river. This country is generally open, extenſive, well-watered, and covered with pleaſant hillocks, agreeable meadows, and delicious woods, as far as the Apalachian mountains. Accordingly, the firſt Frenchmen who came there, judged, that notwithſtanding it's

it's diſtance from the ſea, this would become in time the center of the colony. This opinion drew numbers of them to this ſpot. They were favourably received by the ſavages, and aſſiſted in the ſettlement of the plantations which they wanted to eſtabliſh. Exchanges that were reciprocally uſeful, laid the foundation of a friendſhip apparently ſincere between the two nations. It might have become permanent, had not the ties of it been daily weakened by the avidity of the Europeans. Theſe foreigners had at firſt demanded the productions of the country only as honeſt merchants, but afterwards imperiouſly dictated the conditions of the trade, and at length ſeized upon what they were tired of paying for, even at a low price. Their audacity increaſed to ſuch a degree as to expel the natives from the fields they had tilled themſelves.

This tyranny was atrocious. In vain did the Natchez endeavour to put a ſtop to it by the moſt humiliating ſupplications. Driven to deſpair, they endeavoured to engage in their reſentment all the eaſtern nations, whoſe diſpoſitions they were acquainted with, and towards the latter end of the year 1729, they ſucceeded in forming an almoſt univerſal league, the purport of which was, to exterminate in one day the whole race of their oppreſſors. This negociation was carried on with ſuch ſucceſs as not to be diſcovered either by the ſavages who were friends to the French, or by the French themſelves. Nothing but ſome caſually fortunate event could prevent the ſucceſs of the plot, and this event took place.

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ACCORDING to the accounts of the times, the Natchez ſent to the conſpiring nations, who were not better acquainted with the art of writing than themſelves, ſome parcels, conſiſting of an equal number of bits of wood. That there might be no miſtake made reſpecting the time when the common hatred was to break out, it was agreed, that one of theſe bits of wood ſhould be burnt every day in each town, and the laſt was to be the ſignal for the bloody ſcene that was to be exhibited. It happened that the wife or the mother of the great chief was informed of the plot by a ſon ſhe had by a Frenchman. She ſeveral times warned the officer of that nation who commanded in the neighbourhood, of the circumſtance. The indifference or the contempt that was ſhew'n for her advice did not ſtifle in her heart the affection ſhe had for theſe foreigners. Her rank entitled her to enter the temple of the Sun at any hour ſhe choſe. This prerogative put it in her power to carry off ſucceſſively the bits of wood which had been depoſited in it, and ſhe determined to do it in order to diſturb the calculations of the conſpirators, at the hazard of haſtening, ſince it was neceſſary, the deſtruction of the Frenchmen ſhe was fond of, in order to inſure the ſafety of the reſt who were unknow'n to her. Every thing happened as ſhe expected. At the ſignal agreed upon, the Natchez fell unawares upon the enemy, not doubting but all their allies were at the ſame time engaged in the ſame buſineſs; but as there had been no treaſon any where elſe, every thing remained quiet, as it muſt neceſſarily have done.

THIS

THIS account appears very fabulous; but it is very certain, that the period agreed upon between the members of the confederacy to deliver Louiſiana from a foreign yoke, was foreſtalled by the Natchez. They were perhaps not able to contain their hatred any longer. They were perhaps ſeduced by meeting with unexpected facility in the execution of their deſign. Perhaps, they were properly or improperly apprehenſive that their intentions began to be ſuſpected. It is a certain fact, however, that of two hundred and twenty-two French, who were then in this ſettlement, two hundred were maſſacred; that the women who were pregnant, or who had young children, did not ſhare a more fortunate deſtiny; and that the reſt, who remained priſoners, were expoſed to the brutality of the murderers of their ſons and of their huſbands.

THE whole colony thought themſelves loſt upon the firſt news of this event. They had nothing to oppoſe to a number of enemies threatening them on all ſides, except a few half-rotten palliſſades, and a few vagabonds badly armed and ill diſciplined. Perrier, in whom the authority was veſted, had not a better opinion of the ſituation of affairs. However, he ſhewed a firm countenance, and this boldneſs ſerved him inſtead of forces. The ſavages thought him not only able to defend himſelf, but alſo to attack them. In order to diſpel the ſuſpicions that might have been conceived againſt them, or in hopes of obtaining a pardon, ſeveral of theſe nations joined their

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their warriors to his, in order to aſſiſt in his revenge.

Other troops were wanting, beſide ill-affected allies or ſoldiers, forced into the ſervice, to have inſured ſucceſs. This militia marched towards the country of the Natchez, with a degree of ſlowneſs which afforded no good omen, and they attacked the forts with that indifference from which no good effect could be expected. Fortunately, the beſieged offered to releaſe all the priſoners they had in their poſſeſſion, if the troops would withdraw; and this propoſal was acceded to with extreme joy.

But Perrier having received ſome reinforcements from Europe, recommended hoſtilities, in the beginning of the year 1731. The proſpect of this new danger ſpread diſſentions among the Natchez, and this miſunderſtanding brought on the ruin of the whole nation. A few feeble corps of theſe ſavages were put to the ſword, and a great number were ſent ſlaves to St. Domingo. Thoſe who eſcaped ſlavery or death, took refuge among the Chickaſaws.

These were the moſt intrepid people of thoſe regions: their intimate connections with the Engliſh were well know'n, and their favourite virtue was hoſpitality. All theſe reaſons prevented the French at firſt from requiring them to deliver up the Natchez, to whom they had afforded refuge. But Bienville, who ſucceeded Perrier, thought himſelf authorized to demand the ceſſion of them. The Chickaſaws, with courage and indignation, refuſed to comply. Both ſides

ſides took up arms in 1736. The French were defeated in the open field, and driven back with loſs under the palliſades of their enemy. They tried their fortune again four years after, encouraged by ſome ſuccours they had received from Canada. They were upon the point of being defeated a ſecond time, when ſome fortunate incident brought on a reconciliation with theſe ſavages. Since that period, the tranquillity of Louiſiana hath never been diſturbed. Let us now ſee to what degree of proſperity this long peace hath raiſed the colony.

Settlements formed by the French in Louiſiana.

THE coaſts of Louiſiana, which are all ſituated upon the gulph of Mexico, are in general flat, and covered with a barren ſand. They are neither inhabited, nor capable of being ſo. No forts have ever been erected upon them.

THOUGH the French muſt have been deſirous of drawing near to Mexico, they have formed no ſettlement upon the coaſt, which lies to the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi. They were undoubtedly apprehenſive of offending the Spaniards, who would not patiently have ſuffered them in this neighbourhood.

To the eaſt of the river is ſituated Fort Mobile, on the banks of a river which derives it's ſource from the Apalachian mountains. It ſerved to maintain the Chactaws, the Alimabous, and other leſs numerous colonies in alliance with the French, and to ſecure their fur trade. The Spaniards of Penſacola drew ſome proviſions and merchandize from this ſettlement.

THERE

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THERE are a great number of outlets at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, which are always varying. Many of them are entirely dry at times. Some can only admit canoes or ſloops. That towards the eaſt, the only one frequented at preſent by ſhips, is very tortuous, affords only a very narrow paſſage, and hath no more than eleven or twelve feet of water in the higheſt tides. The ſmall fort called La Baliſe, which formerly defended the mouth of the river, is no longer of any uſe ſince it's canal hath been filled up, and ſince the ſhips ſail out of the reach of it's cannon.

NEW ORLEANS, ſituated at the diſtance of thirty leagues from the ſea, is the firſt ſettlement that preſents itſelf. This city, which was intended for a ſtaple to carry on all the intercourſe between the mother-country and the colony, was built upon the eaſtern border of the river, round a creſcent, which is acceſſible to all ſhips, and where they ride in perfect ſafety. The foundations of it were laid in 1717; but it was not till 1722, that it had made any progreſs, and became the capital of Louiſiana. It's population never conſiſted of more than ſixteen hundred inhabitants, partly free men, and partly ſlaves. The huts which originally covered it have been ſucceſſively transformed into convenient houſes, but built with wood upon bricks, becauſe the ſoil was not ſufficiently firm to ſupport heavier buildings.

THE city is placed on an iſland, which is ſixty leagues in length, and hath a moderate breadth. This iſland, the greateſt part of which is not ſuſceptible of culture, is formed by the ocean, by the

the river Miſſiſſippi, by the lake Pontchartrain, and by the Manchac, or the river of Yberville, a canal which the Miſſiſſippi hath digged for itſelf, in order to pour into it the ſuperfluous part of it's waters, in the ſeaſon when they moſt abound. There may be upon this territory about a hundred plantations, upon which are found four or five hundred white men, and four thouſand Negroes, principally employed in the culture of indigo. A few enterprizing proprietors have endeavoured to grow ſugar there; but ſome trifling froſts, which are fatal to this rich production, have rendered this attempt ineffectual. The plantations are ſeldom contiguous to each other, but are moſtly ſeparated by ſtagnating waters and moraſſes, eſpecially in the inferior part of the iſland.

Opposite to New Orleans, and on the weſtern ſhore of the Miſſiſſippi, were ſettled in 1722, three hundred Germans, the unfortunate remains of ſeveral thouſand who had been removed from their country. Their number hath trebled ſince that period, which is not a very diſtant one, becauſe they have always been the moſt laborious men of the colony. Aſſiſted by about two thouſand ſlaves, they cultivate maize for their food, and rice and indigo for exportation. They formerly attended to the culture of cotton; but they have abandoned it ſince it has been found too ſhort for the European manufactures.

A little higher up, on the ſame coaſt, eight hundred Acadians were ſituated, who had arrived in Louiſiana immediately after the laſt peace. Their labours

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labours have been hitherto confined to the breeding of cattle, and to the cultivation of articles of primary neceſſity. If their means ſhould increaſe, they will attend to the production of vendible commodities.

All thoſe productions which enrich the lower part of the colony, terminate at the ſettlement of the Pointe coupeé, formed at the diſtance of forty-five leagues from New Orleans. It furniſhes moreover the greateſt part of the tobacco that is conſumed in the country, and a great deal of wood for foreign trade. Theſe labours employ five or ſix hundred white men, and twelve hundred Negroes.

Throughout the whole extent of the lands which are cultivated in theſe ſeveral ſettlements belonging to Lower Louiſiana, there runs a cauſeway deſtined to ſecure it from the inundations of the river. Large and deep ditches, which ſurround every field, afford an iſſue to the waters which would either have penetrated or riſen above the dyke. This ſoil is entirely muddy; and when it is to be cultivated, the large reeds which cover it are cut at the bottom. As ſoon as they are dry they are ſet on fire. Then, however lightly the earth be turned up, it becomes fertile in all productions requiring a damp ſoil. Corn does not thrive upon it; for the blades grow, but contain no ſeed. Moſt of the fruit trees ſucceed no better, they grow up very faſt, and are in bloſſom twice in a year; but the fruit which is attacked by the worms, dries and generally falls off before it is ripe. The peach, the orange, and the fig-

tree,

tree, are the only ones, the fertility of which cannot be too much extolled.

THE nature of the country is very different in Upper Louiſiana. To the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, this diſtrict begins a little above the river of Yberville. It's territory, which hath been antiently formed, is ſufficiently raiſed to be free from inundations and hath only a proper degree of moiſture; it therefore requires leſs care, and promiſes a greater variety of productions. This was the opinion of the firſt Frenchmen who appeared in theſe countries. They ſettled in the diſtrict of the Natchez, and after having attempted ſeveral cultures which were all ſucceſsful, confined themſelves to that of tobacco, which ſoon acquired in the mother-country the reputation it deſerved. Government expected ſoon to receive from this ſettlement a ſufficient quantity for the ſupply of the whole monarchy, when the tyranny of it's agents occaſioned it's ruin. Since this fatal period, this inexhauſtible ſoil hath remained uncultivated, till Great Britain, having acquired the property of it by treaties, ſhall have conveyed there a population ſufficient to fertilize it.

A LITTLE higher up, but on the weſtern ſhore, the Red river empties itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi. It is at thirty leagues diſtance from the mouth of it, and upon the territory of the Natchitoches, that the French on their arrival in Louiſiana erected a few palliſades. The object of this poſt was to draw from New Mexico the ſheep and horned cattle, which a riſing colony is always in want

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want of; and it was alſo to open a ſmuggling trade with the Spaniſh fort of the Adages, which is only ſeven leagues diſtant. It is long ſince the multiplication of the cattle in thoſe fields, to which it was neceſſary to accuſtom them, hath put an end to the firſt of theſe connections; and it was ſtill earlier underſtood, that the latter, with one of the pooreſt ſettlements in the world, could never have any real utility. Accordingly, the territory of the Natchitoches was ſoon forſaken by thoſe whom the hopes of making a great fortune had draw'n there. Upon this diſtrict there are only now to be ſeen the deſcendants of a few ſoldiers, who have ſettled there at the end of the time they were engaged for in the ſervice. Their number does not exceed two hundred. They live upon maize, or upon the vegetables which they cultivate, and ſell the ſuperfluous part of their productions to their indolent neighbours. The money they receive from this feeble garriſon, enables them to pay for the liquors and the clothing which they are obliged to get from elſewhere.

The ſettlement formed among the Akanſas is ſtill more wretched. It would infallibly have become very flouriſhing, if the troops, the arms, the bondſmen, the proviſions, and the merchandize, which Law had ſent there on his own private account, had not been firſt confiſcated after the diſgrace of that enterpriſing man. Since that time ſome few Canadians only have ſettled upon this excellent ſoil, who have taken to themſelves wives among the women of the country.

From

From theſe connections hath ſoon ariſen an almoſt ſavage race; conſiſting only of a few families, living ſeparate from each other, and ſcarce attending to any other employment except that of the chace.

To go from the Akanſas to the Illinois country, it is neceſſary to travel three hundred leagues: for the nations in America are not contiguous to each other, as they are in Europe, and are therefore the more independent. They have no chiefs connected among themſelves, alternately to ſeize upon, or to ſacrifice them, and to render them ſo unhappy, that they ſhall have nothing to gain or to loſe, by a change of country and of maſter. The Illinois, ſituated in the moſt northern part of Louiſiana, were continually beaten, and always upon the point of being deſtroyed by the Iroquois, or by other warlike nations. They ſtood in need of a defender; and the French took that part upon themſelves, by occupying a portion of their territory, at the mouth of their river, and upon the more pleaſant, and more fruitful banks of the Miſſiſſippi. Under this protection, the Illinois have avoided the deſtiny of moſt of the nations in the New World, of whom there ſcarce remains any remembrance. Nevertheleſs, their number hath diminiſhed, in proportion as that of their protectors hath increaſed. Theſe foreigners have gradually formed a population of two thouſand three hundred and fourſcore free perſons, and of eight hundred ſlaves, diſtributed in ſix villages,

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five of which are ſituated upon the eaſtern border of the river.

UNFORTUNATELY, moſt of theſe people have entertained a paſſion for running about the woods to buy up the peltries, or have indulged themſelves with remaining in their warehouſes, waiting till the ſavages brought them the produce of their chaſe. They would have worked more uſefully for themſelves, for the colony, and for France, had they digged the excellent ſoil upon which chance had placed them; and had they required of it the ſeveral kinds of corn produced in the Old World, which Louiſiana hath been obliged to draw from Europe, or from North America. But how much hath the ſettlement formed by the French in the country of the Illinois, and how much have their other ſettlements fallen ſhort of this proſperity?

NEVER did the colony, in it's greateſt ſplendour, reckon more than ſeven thouſand Negroes, excluſive of the troops, the number of which varied, from three hundred to two thouſand men. This feeble population was ſcattered along the borders of the Miſſiſſippi, throughout a ſpace of five hundred leagues; and was defended by a few ſmall forts, ſituated at an immenſe diſtance from each other. Nevertheleſs, theſe men were not deſcended from that ſcum of Europe, which France had, as it were, vomited forth into the New World at the time of Law's ſyſtem. All thoſe miſerable men had periſhed, without leaving any iſſue. The coloniſts were robuſt men,

arrived from Canada, or diſbanded ſoldiers, who had ſenſibly preferred the labours of agriculture to a life of idleneſs, in which prejudice and pride had confirmed them. Every inhabitant received from government a ſuitable piece of ground, with ſeed to ſow it, a gun, an ax, a mattock, a cow and a calf, a cock and ſix hens, with a plentiful ſupply of wholeſome proviſions for three years. Some officers, and ſome rich men, had formed conſiderable plantations, which occupied eight thouſand ſlaves.

THIS colony ſent to France fourſcore thouſand weight of indigo, ſome hides, and much peltry. It ſent to the iſlands, tallow, ſmoked meats, pulſe, rice, maize, pitch, tar, and timber for ſhips and for houſe-building. Theſe ſeveral articles collected, might be worth 2,000,000 of livres *. This ſum was paid for in European merchandize, and in the productions of the Eaſt Indies. The colony even received more than it gave, and derived this ſingular advantage from the expences of ſovereignty.

THE public expences were always too conſiderable at Louiſiana. They often exceeded, even in times of full peace, the whole produce of the ſettlement. Perhaps the agents of government would have been more circumſpect, had the buſineſs been tranſacted with money. The unfortunate facility of paying every thing with bills, which were not to be diſcharged till their arrival in the mother-country, rendered them generally

* 83,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

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laviſh, and ſome of them were even diſhoneſt. For their own private emoluments, they ordered the conſtruction of forts, which were of no kind of uſe, and which coſt twenty times more than they ought to have done. They multiplied, without reaſon, as without meaſure, the annual preſents which the court of Verſailles were accuſtomed to ſend to the ſavage tribes.

THE exports and imports of Louiſiana were not carried on upon ſhips belonging to itſelf; for it had never thought of having one ſingle veſſel. Sometimes it received ſome feeble embarkations from the ports of France, and ſometimes large boats from the ſugar iſlands. But moſt frequently, ſhips diſpatched from the mother-country to St. Domingo, left part of their cargo in this rich ſettlement; and after having ſold the reſt of it in the Miſſiſſippi, uſed to load themſelves, on their return to it, with every thing that might be wanted at St. Domingo, or which might be ſuitable to the mother-country.

France might have derived great advantages from Louiſiana. Faults that have impeded this ſucceſs.

LOUISIANA, which nature ſeemed to invite to a great degree of proſperity, would undoubtedly have attained to it, if government had had the prudence to attend to the wiſhes of the French Proteſtants, who had taken refuge in the colonies ſettled by the Engliſh to the north of the New World.

UNDER the moſt brilliant reign, and at the moſt fortunate period of that reign, three hundred thouſand Calviniſt families were enjoying peaceably in France, the rights of men and of citizens:

citizens: rights which had been confirmed to them by the famous edict, which had quieted ſo many troubles, and put an end to ſo many calamities, the edict of Nantes. Louis XIV. the terror of his neighbours, and the idol of his ſubjects, had neither enemies to fear without, nor rebels within his provinces. The Proteſtants, quiet from motives of duty as well as intereſt, thought of nothing but ſerving the ſtate, and of contributing towards it's power and it's glory. They were placed at the head of ſeveral new manufactures; and being diſperſed in the maritime countries, a navy, which was formidable in it's infancy, derived it's principal ſtrength from them. Where an eaſy and decent competency prevails, the fruit of labour and of induſtry, there we generally meet with good morals. The Proteſtants, in particular, were diſtinguiſhed by them, becauſe they were the leaſt numerous, and moſt laborious of the ſubjects, and becauſe they had to juſtify their faith by their virtues.

Every thing, I ſay again, was quiet in the interior part of the kingdom: but ſacerdotal pride and phariſaical ambition were not ſo. The clergy of France, Rome, and the Jeſuits, were continually importuning the throne, with their ſcandalous remonſtrances. It was repreſented, that Frenchmen who did not humble themſelves before a confeſſor; who ſaw nothing but bread in the conſecrated hoſt; who never ſaid maſs; who never brought any offering to the altar; who married their couſins without purchaſing diſpenſations; it was repreſented, that ſuch French-

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men could not love their country nor their ſovereign. It was ſaid, that they were in fact nothing more than traitors and hypocrites; who, in order to ſhake off the yoke of obedience, waited only for a favourable circumſtance, which ſooner or later they would find ſome opportunity to excite.

When impoſture ſhall awaken the apprehenſions of the ſovereign, with reſpect to the fidelity of his ſubjects, it is difficult to prevent it's being liſtened to with attention. Nevertheleſs, we ſhall venture to aſk; whether Louis XIV. was excuſable, when he ſeemed not to know how much his Proteſtant ſubjects were uſeful to him? We ſhall venture to aſk, if he could ſeriouſly believe, that they would become more ſo, when they were turned Catholicks; and if the toleration of a maſter, ſo powerful and ſo abſolute, could ever bring on any of thoſe diſagreeable conſequences with which he was inceſſantly threatened? The Proteſtants had been ſeditious, it is true: but they had been perſecuted, and had been made, alternately with Catholicks, the ſport of the turbulent ambition of the great. The idea of ſo much blood ſpilt in the preceding reigns, ſhould it not have made him apprehenſive of ſhedding more? Paſt events ſhould have taught him, that a king hath no power over religious opinions; that the conſciences of men are not to be compelled; that fortune, life, and dignities, are nothing in compariſon of eternal puniſhments; and that if it be right, in a country where only one form of worſhip is obſerved, to forbid acceſs

acceſs to any foreign ſuperſtition, yet power will never exclude that which is already eſtabliſhed there; Louis XIV. experienced this. You monarchs, who are intruſted with the care of governing men, make it your buſineſs to be acquainted with them. Study their paſſions, in order that you may govern them by their paſſions. Know that a prince who ſays to his ſubjects, your religion diſpleaſes me, it is my pleaſure that you ſhould renounce it, has nothing to do but to raiſe the gallows, and to prepare the wheel, and let his executioners hold themſelves in readineſs.

Louis XIV. intruſted with the execution of his project, which was impious in religion and abſurd in policy, two miniſters imperious as himſelf; two men who hated the Proteſtants, becauſe Colbert had employed them. One of theſe was Le Tellier, a harſh and fanatic man; the other Louvois, a cruel and ſanguinary miniſter; he who gave it as his opinion, that all Holland ſhould be ſunk under water, and who afterwards cauſed the Palatinate to be reduced to aſhes. Immediately, on the ſlighteſt pretence, the churches of the Calviniſts are ſhut up; they themſelves are excluded from every office in the public revenue; they cannot be admitted into any corporation; their clergy were ſubjected to taxation; their mayors are deprived of nobility; the legacies left to their conſiſtories, are applied to hoſpitals; the officers of the king's houſehold, the ſecretaries of the king, the notaries, the counſellors, and the attornies, have

orders to quit their functions, or to renounce their faith. These acts of violence are succeeded by absurdity. A declaration of council, in the year 1681, authorises children of seven years of age to renounce their faith. Children of seven years of age who have a faith, who have a civil will, and who enter into public engagements! Thus it is, that the sovereign and the priest can equally make children of men, and men of children?

But it became necessary to withdraw children from the authority of their parents; for which purpose force was employed. Soldiers were appointed to carry them off from their paternal dwelling, and took possession of it in their stead. The cry of desolation resounded from one end of the kingdom to the other. The people began to think of removing at a distance from the oppressor. Whole families deserted; their houses were converted into guard-rooms. The powers that were the rivals of France, offered them an asylum. Amsterdam was enlarged with a multitude of houses prepared for their reception. The provinces were depopulated. The government beheld these emigrations, and were disturbed. The punishment of the gallies was decreed against the fugitive artisan and the sailor. All the passages were closed. Nothing was forgotten that could possibly enhance the merit of the sacrifice; and more than five hundred thousand useful citizens made their escape, at the risk of receiving in their way the crown of martyrdom.

It was in 1685, in the midſt of theſe horrors, that the fatal revolution of the edict of Nantes appeared. The clergy who were ſteady in their opinions, were ordered to quit the kingdom within a fortnight, on pain of death. Children were tor'n from the arms of their fathers and mothers. And theſe horrible acts were authorized by a ſet of deliberate men; by an aſſembly of grave perſons; by a ſupreme court! They were fathers, and yet they did not ſhudder while they gave orders for the infringement of the moſt ſacred laws of nature!

In the mean while, the minds of men were inflamed. The Proteſtants aſſembled; they were attacked; they defended themſelves, and dragoons were ſent againſt them. And now the hamlets, the villages, the fields, the highways, and the gates of the cities, were planted with ſcaffolds and drenched with blood. The intendants of the provinces vied with each other in cruelty. Some miniſters, venturing to preach and to write, were ſeized upon, and put to death. The priſons were ſoon incapable of holding the number of the perſecuted; and it was the will of a ſingle man that could make ſo many perſons unfortunate! At his word, all the civil and moral ties were broken! At his word, a thouſand citizens, revered for their virtues, their dignities, and their talents, were devoted to death and to infamy! O ye people! ye herd of weak and mean men!

And thou, blind tyrant! becauſe thy prieſts have not the art of perſuaſion to make their arguments

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ments victorious; becauſe they cannot efface from the minds of thoſe innocent men, the profound traces which education had engraved in them; becauſe theſe men will neither be baſe, nor hypocritical, nor infamous; becauſe they chuſe rather to obey their God than to obey thee, muſt thou deprive them of their property, put chains upon them, burn them, hang them up, and drag their carcaſſes upon a hurdle? When thou withdraweſt thy protection from them, becauſe they do not think as thou do'ſt; why ſhould they not withdraw their obedience from thee, becauſe thou thinkeſt differently from them? It is thou who do'ſt break the compact.

The churches of the Proteſtants were deſtroyed. Their miniſters were either put to death, or they fled. But this did not put a ſtop to the deſertion of the perſecuted perſons. What ſteps were therefore to be taken to prevent it? It was imagined that flight would be leſs frequent when the gates were laid open. This proved to be a miſtake; and after the paſſages had been opened, they were ſhut again a ſecond time with as little ſucceſs as at firſt.

The dreadful wound which fanaticiſm then inflicted on the nation, hath continued bleeding down to our days, and will ſtill remain open. Armies deſtroyed are recruited; provinces that are invaded are recovered: but the emigration of uſeful men, who convey to foreign nations their induſtry and their talents, and raiſe them at once to a level with the nation which they have quitted,

quitted, is an evil which cannot be remedied. The citizen of the world, whoſe comprehenſive mind embraces the intereſt of all the human race, will perhaps be comforted on this occaſion; but the true patriot will never ceaſe to deplore the event.

This patriot is the man, who at this inſtant addreſſes himſelf to kings in the following terms: 'Rulers of the world, when a man, under the 'name of prieſt, ſhall contrive to connect his 'intereſts with the pretended intereſts of a God: 'when his ſuſpicious hatred can induce him to 'make uſe of the name of that God, whom he 'will not fail to repreſent as jealous and cruel, 'in order to excite perſecution againſt the man 'who ſhall not think as he does; or to ſpeak with 'greater preciſion, who ſhall not think as the 'prieſt would have him think, woe to you and 'to your ſubjects, if you ſhould liſten to ſuch 'inſinuations!'

In the mean while, the French Proteſtants, ſcattered over the ſeveral parts of the globe, were every where turning their ſorrowful looks towards their former country. Thoſe who had found an aſylum in the northern part of America, deſpairing ever to be able to reviſit their former habitations, wiſhed at leaſt to be connected with the amiable nation from which tyranny had ſeparated them. They offered to convey their induſtry and their capitals to Louiſiana, provided they might be allowed to follow their mode of worſhip there. Unfortunately for the ſtate, the ſuperſtition of Louis XIV. and the weakneſs

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weakneſs of the regent occaſioned theſe propoſals to be rejected.

NEVERTHELESS, what analogy is there between the tenets of religion, and the ſpeculations of the miniſtry? Not more, it ſhould ſeem, than there is between the preſcriptions of the phyſician and the doctrine he profeſſes. Hath the patient ever thought of aſking his phyſician whether he went to church or to meeting? Whether he believed in God or not? Rulers of the earth, he who cauſes the ſun indiſcriminately to ſhine on orthodox or on heretic regions; he who ſuffers his fertile dew to fall equally on their fields; doth he not declare to you, with ſufficient evidence and energy, how much it ought to be indifferent to you by what men they are peopled, and by what hands they are cultivated? It is your's to protect them; it is your's to animate their labours; it is your's to encourage their induſtry and their virtues. It is the part of God to ſearch into their hearts, and to judge them. Doth he render the mothers of the Calviniſts barren? Or doth he ſtifle the child in the womb of the Lutheran women, when they are pregnant? How, therefore, do ye dare to condemn to exile, to death, or to miſery worſe than theſe, that being, whom the Sovereign of all ſovereigns, your Father and their's, permits to live and to proſper? Becauſe maſs hath not been performed, or veſpers ſung at Louiſiana, have the productions of the ſoil been leſs plentiful, leſs valuable, and leſs uſeful? Had the country been peopled with orthodox perſons, and that ſome reaſon of ſtate had induced

duced you to attempt the conqueſt of it, you would have put them all to the ſword without heſitation; and yet you ſcruple to intruſt the culture of them to heretics. With what ſtrange madneſs are you affected? A conformity of worſhip puts no ſtop to your ferociouſneſs, and a difference of worſhip excites it. Is it then conſiſtent with the dignity of the chief of the ſtate, to regulate his conduct by the fanatic ſpirit and narrow views of the director of a religious ſeminary? Is it conſiſtent with his wiſdom, to admit among the number of his ſubjects none but the ſlaves of his prieſts? I ſhould not be in the leaſt ſurprized, after having determined an old puſillanimous monarch, humbled by a long ſeries of calamities, to complete them all by the revocation of a ſalutary edict, that the ſuperſtitious and hypocritical men who ſurrounded him ſhould have led him on, from one circumſtance to another, to reject the advantageous propoſals of the religious people in the New World; but that conſiderations, which may be called merely monaſtic, ſhould have had the ſame influence over the enlightened prince who held the reins of the empire after the old monarch, and who certainly was never accuſed of bigotry, is a circumſtance which I cannot explain.

INDEPENDENTLY of this fatal ſyſtem, Louiſiana would not probably have languiſhed for ſo long a time, had it not been for an original error adopted, of granting lands indiſcriminately to every perſon who applied for them, and in the manner in which he deſired them. Immenſe deſerts would

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would not then have ſeparated the coloniſts from each other. Being brought near to a common center, they would have aſſiſted each other, and would have enjoyed all the advantages of a well-regulated ſociety. As population increaſed, the lands would have been cleared to a greater extent. Inſtead of a few hordes of ſavages, we ſhould have ſeen a riſing colony, which might in time have become a powerful nation, and procured infinite advantages to France.

THE French, who annually purchaſe from eighteen to twenty millions weight of tobacco, might have encouraged the cultivation of it in Louiſiana, and might have draw'n from that ſettlement a ſufficient quantity of it for their own conſumption. Such were the hopes that government entertained, when they ordered all the tobacco plants in France to be rooted up. Convinced that the lands in their provinces were adapted to more important and richer cultures, they thought it would be advantageous both to the mother-country and the colony, to ſecure to this infant ſettlement a market for that production which required the leaſt capital, the leaſt time, and experience. When Law, the projector of this undertaking, fell into diſcredit, this ſcheme, the advantages of which were ſo evident, was forgotten, and ſhared the ſame fate as thoſe which were merely the offſpring of a diſordered imagination. The blindneſs of the miniſtry was kept up by the private intereſts of the agents of the treaſury; and this is not

not one of the leaſt miſchiefs the finance has done to the monarchy.

The wealth which tobacco would have procured to the colony, would have made it ſenſible of the advantages that might be derived from the ſpacious and beautiful meadows with which that country abounds. They would ſoon have been covered with numerous herds, whoſe hides would have prevented the mother-country from purchaſing any from other nations, and whoſe fleſh, when prepared and ſalted, would have been diſpoſed of in the iſlands, inſtead of foreign beef. Horſes and mules, multiplying in the ſame proportion, would have freed the French colonies from the dependence they have always had upon the Engliſh and Spaniards for this neceſſary article.

As ſoon as the coloniſts had begun to exert themſelves, they would have proceeded from one branch of induſtry to another. They could not poſſibly avoid building ſhips; for the country was covered with wood fit for the hull, and the fir-trees that grew in great plenty along the coaſt, would have afforded maſts and tar. There was no want of oak for the planks, and if there had been, it might have been ſupplied by cypreſs, which is leſs apt to ſplit, bend, or break, and the additional thickneſs of which might have compenſated for it's want of ſtrength and hardneſs. They might eaſily have grow'n hemp for the ſails and rigging. Nothing, perhaps, need have been imported but iron; and it is even more than probable that there are iron mines in Louiſiana.

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THE foreſts being thus cleared without any expence, and even with advantage, would have left the ſoil fit for the culture of corn and indigo. The production of ſilk might even have been undertaken with ſucceſs, when once the colony had been ſufficiently populous to attend to an employment, which the mildneſs of the climate, the number of mulberry trees, and ſome ſucceſsful trials, had conſtantly invited them to. In a word, what might not have been expected from a country, where the air is temperate, and the ſoil even, freſh, and fertile; and which, properly ſpeaking, had never been inhabited, but traverſed careleſsly, by vagabonds equally deſtitute of ſkill and conduct?

HAD Louiſiana attained to that degree of perfection it was capable of, it's harbour would ſoon have been made more eaſy of acceſs. This might perhaps have been effected, by ſtopping up all the ſmall paſſes with the floating trees waſhed down by the waters; and by collecting the whole force of the ſtream in one ſingle channel. If the ſoftneſs of the ſoil, the rapidity of the river, or the ebbing of the ſea, had oppoſed inſurmountable obſtacles to this project, genius might have found ſome reſources againſt them. Every art, and every uſeful improvement, would have ſucceſſively appeared to form a flouriſhing and vigorous colony in that ſpacious plain of America.

THIS proſpect, which had never been ſeen but at a diſtance, ſeemed to be drawing near at the laſt peace. The inhabitants, to whom the treaſury

ſury owed ſeven millions of livres *, moſtly acquired by criminal manœuvres, deſpairing of ever obtaining the payment of this diſhoneſt debt, or being only able to flatter themſelves that they ſhould obtain it at a diſtant period, and in part only, turned their attention to ſome important cultures with ſucceſs. Their trade was increaſed with part of the peltry trade, which had formerly belonged to Canada. The French iſlands, the wants of which were continually increaſing, while their reſources were diminiſhing, required of them more wood, and more articles of ſubſiſtence. The fraudulent connections with Mexico, which the war had interrupted, were renewed. The traders of the mother-country, excluded from ſome of the markets they had frequented, ſailed towards the Miſſiſſippi, the borders of which, too long neglected, were at length going to be inhabited. Already had two hundred Acadian families fixed there; and the unfortunate remains of that nation, diſperſed among the Engliſh ſettlements, were preparing to follow them. The ſame diſpoſitions were obſerved in ſeveral coloniſts of St. Vincent's and Granada, diſſatisfied with their new maſters. Twelve or fifteen hundred Canadians had already begun their march to Louiſiana, and were to be followed by many more. There are even ſtrong reaſons to think, that ſeveral Catholics were preparing to quit the Britiſh poſſeſſions, in order to go into this ſpacious and beautiful country.

* 291,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

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The French miniſtry cede Louiſiana to Spain. Had they a right to do it?

Such was the ſtate of things, when the court of Verſailles announced to the inhabitants of Louiſiana, on the 21ſt of April 1764, that by a ſecret treaty made the 3d of November 1762, the property of this iſland had been given up to the court of Madrid. The languid ſtate of the colony, the obſtacles which prevented it's improvement, the impoſſibility of putting it in a ſituation to reſiſt the whole force of the enemy united upon the frontier, theſe conſiderations muſt eaſily have determined the French miniſtry to this ceſſion, apparently ſo conſiderable. But what motive could induce Spain to accept it? Would it not have been better for them to ſacrifice Florida without any indemnification, for the reſtoration of public tranquillity, than to receive in exchange a poſſeſſion which it was impoſſible for them to defend? If it were a barrier againſt the enterprizes which an ambitious, active, and powerful nation might form againſt Mexico, was it not the intereſt of Spain that a faithful ally ſhould ſuſtain the firſt ſhock, which would warn them of the ſtorm, and might perhaps give them time to diſſipate it?

But in whatever manner this event may be conſidered in a political view, will it not be looked upon as an offence againſt morality, thus to have ſold or given away the members of the community to a foreign power? For what right has a prince to diſpoſe of his ſubjects without their conſent?

What becomes of the rights of the people, if all is due from the nation to the prince, and nothing

thing from the prince to the nation? Are there then no rights but thoſe of princes? Theſe pretend to derive their power from God alone. This maxim, which is invented by the clergy, only with a deſign of raiſing kings above the people, that they themſelves may command even kings in the name of the deity, is no more than an iron chain, to bind a whole nation under the power of one man. It is no longer a mutual tie of love and virtue, of intereſt and fidelity, that gives to one family the rule in the midſt of a ſociety.

But why ſhould the ſovereign authority wiſh to conceal it's being derived from men? Kings are ſufficiently informed by nature, experience, hiſtory, and their own conſciouſneſs, that it is of the people they hold all they poſſeſs, whether conquered by arms, or acquired by treaty. As they receive from the people all the marks of obedience, why ſhould they refuſe to accept from them all the rights of authority? Nothing is to be apprehended from voluntary ſubmiſſion, nor is any thing to be obtained by the abuſe of uſurped power. It can only be ſupported by violence; and is it poſſible that a prince can be happy who commands only by force, and is obeyed only through fear? He cannot ſit eaſy upon his throne, when he cannot reign without aſſerting that he holds his crown from God alone. Every man may more truly affirm, that he holds from God his life, his liberty, the unalienable right of being governed only by reaſon and juſtice. The welfare, then, and ſecurity of the people, is the ſupreme law on which all others depend. This

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is, undoubtedly, the real fundamental law of all ſociety. It is by this we muſt interpret every particular law which muſt be derived from this principle, and ſerve to explain and ſupport it.

If we apply this rule to the treaties of diviſion and ceſſion which kings make between themſelves, will it appear that they have the right of buying, ſelling or exchanging their ſubjects, without their conſent? Shall princes then arrogate to themſelves the barbarous right of alienating or mortgaging their provinces and their ſubjects as they would their effects or eſtates; while the ſupplies granted for the ſupport of their houſe, the foreſts of their domain, the jewels of their crown, are all ſacred unalienable effects, which we muſt never have recourſe to, even in the moſt preſſing exigencies of the ſtate.——Methinks I hear the voice of a numerous colony exclaiming from America, and addreſſing the mother-country in the following terms:

"What have I done to thee, that thou ſhould'ſt "deliver me up into the hands of a ſtranger? "Did I not ſpring from thy loins? Have I not "ſow'n, planted, cultivated, and reaped for thee "alone? When thy ſhips conveyed me to theſe "ſhores, ſo different from thy own happy cli- "mate, didſt thou not engage for ever to protect "me with thy fleets and armies? Have I not "fought in ſupport of thy rights, and defended "the country thou gaveſt me? After having fer- "tilized it by my labour, have I not maintained "it for thee at the expence of my blood? Thy "children were my parents or my brethren; thy

" laws my boaſt, and thy name my pride: that
" name which I have ſtriven to render illuſtrious
" among nations to whom it was unknow'n. I
" have procured thee friends and allies among
" the ſavages. I flattered myſelf with the
" thought that I might one day come in compe-
" tion with thy rivals, and be the terror of thine
" enemies. But thou haſt forſaken me. Thou
" haſt bound me without my conſent, by a treaty,
" the very concealment of which was a treachery.
" Unfeeling, ungrateful parent, how could'ſt thou
" break, in oppoſition to the dictates of nature,
" the ties by which I was attached to thee, even
" from my birth? While with inceſſant and pain-
" ful toil I was reſtoring to thee the tribute of
" nouriſhment and ſubſiſtence I had received
" from thee, I wiſhed for no other comfort than
" that of living and dying under thy law. That
" comfort thou haſt refuſed me. Thou haſt tor'n
" me from my family to deliver me up to a maſ-
" ter whom I did not approve. Reſtore my pa-
" rent to me; reſtore me to him whoſe name I
" have been uſed to call upon from my earlieſt
" infancy. It is in thy power to make me ſub-
" mit againſt my will to a yoke which I abhor;
" but this ſubmiſſion will only be temporary. I
" ſhall languiſh and periſh with grief and weak-
" neſs; or if I ſhould recover life and vigour, it
" will only be to withdraw myſelf from con-
" nections I deteſt; though I ſhould even be
" compelled to deliver myſelf up to thy ene-
" mies?"

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Conduct of the Spaniards at Louisiana.

This aversion which the inhabitants of Louisiana had to the Spanish government, did not alter the arrangements made between the courts of Madrid and Versailles. On the 28th February 1766, M. Ulloa arrived in the colony with fourscore Spaniards. According to the usual form, he ought to have taken possession immediately on his landing. But this was not the case: the orders still continued to be given out in the name of the king of France; the French magistrates still acted in that capacity; and the troops still continued to do the duties of the service under French banners. The person who represented Lewis XV. still retained the command. These circumstances persuaded the inhabitants, that Charles III. was causing the country to be examined; and that he would determine to accept or reject it, according as he should find it to the advantage or disadvantage of his power. This examination was made by an officer who appeared to have no favourable opinion of the region which he had come to reconnoitre; and it was natural to hope that he would put his master out of conceit with it.

This illusion was in general prevailing, when a law came from Spain, to forbid Louisiana from carrying on any trading connections with the markets where it had hitherto sold it's productions. This fatal decree was accompanied, according to every testimony, with intolerable haughtiness, with odious monopolies, and with repeated acts of arbitrary authority; evils, which were

were the more oppreſſive, as they appeared to be the work of the French commander, over whom Ulloa had acquired ſuch an aſcendant, as to make him the vile inſtrument of all his caprices. Theſe accuſations were perhaps exaggerated. But the Spaniards ſhould not have diſdained to take every ſtep which might have undeceived the prejudiced people, and ſoftened their irritated minds.

This contemptuous behaviour, which was conſidered as the greateſt outrage, and as the utmoſt ſtretch of tyranny, drove the people to deſpair. An infallible way of acquiring happineſs and tranquillity preſented itſelf to them. They had only to go acroſs the river to obtain it. The Engliſh government ſolicited them to accept an excellent territory, together with every kind of encouragement for the culture of it, and all the prerogatives of liberty: but they were attached to their country by a ſacred and beloved tie. They choſe rather to petition the council, that Ulloa ſhould be obliged to retire; and ſince he had deferred till then to take poſſeſſion, that he ſhould not be allowed to do it, till the court of Verſailles had hear'd the repreſentations of the colony. On the 28th October 1766, the tribunal pronounced the decree which was required, and the Spaniards quietly reimbarked upon the frigate which had brought them there. There was not the leaſt tumult, nor indecent act committed in New Orleans, during the three days that this criſis laſted. When it was at an end, the inhabitants of the city, and thoſe of Lower Louiſiana, who had united their reſentments in

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order to bring about the revolution, reaſſumed their labours with the comfortable hopes that their conduct would be approved by the court of France.

The ſucceſs did not anſwer their expectation. The deputies of the colony did not arrive in Europe till ſix weeks after Ulloa, and they found that the miniſtry of Verſailles were either exceedingly diſpleaſed with what had paſſed, or at leaſt affected to be ſo. Theſe diſpoſitions were openly cenſured by the French nation, who conſidered the coloniſts of Louiſiana in no other light than as a generous ſet of men, whoſe only crime was an unlimited attachment to their mother-country. A clamour ſo unanimous and ſo powerful was excited in their favour, and that the government could not decently refuſe to ſhew ſome concern for theſe unfortunate people. This tardy compaſſion was of no effect. The court of Madrid, who had foreſeen it, had cauſed M. Orelly to ſet out with ſpeed for the iſland of Cuba. From thence this commander took three thouſand men of regular troops or of militia, which he embarked upon twenty-five tranſports; and on the 25th of July 1769, he hoiſted his flag at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi.

Upon this intelligence, the minds of all men were incenſed with inexpreſſible rage againſt a mother-country which made a free ſacrifice of an affectionate colony, and againſt a power which pretended to reign over a people who rejected their inhuman yoke. Steps were taken to prevent the landing of the troops, and to burn the

ſhips

ſhips which conveyed them. Nothing was more eaſy, if we may credit thoſe who were well acquainted with the ſituation of the place. The conſequences of this bold reſolution were not ſo dangerous as they might appear at firſt ſight. The inhabitants of Louiſiana might hope to form an independent republic. Should Spain and France attack them with too great a force, they might put themſelves under the protection of England, and ſhould Great Britain find itſelf in a ſituation that would not allow her to grant them her ſupport, their laſt reſource would have been to paſs over to the eaſtern ſhore of the river with ſlaves, their flocks, and their moveables.

TERRIBLE events were expected, when the promiſes of the Spaniſh general, the ſupplications of Aubry, that weak French commander, whoſe imbecility had occaſioned the loſs of every thing; and the vehement ſpeeches of an eloquent magiſtrate quieted the ferment. No man impeded the progreſs of the ſmall fleet which arrived before New Orleans on the 17th of Auguſt. The next day all the citizens were freed from the allegiance which they owed to their firſt country. Poſſeſſion was taken of the colony in the name of it's new maſter; and the following days, thoſe of the inhabitants who conſented to ſubmit to the Caſtilian yoke, took the oaths of allegiance.

EVERY thing was now completed except revenge. Victims were required. Twelve were choſen out from among the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the army, the magiſtracy, and trade. Six of theſe generous men atoned with their blood

blood for the conſideration which they enjoyed. The others, perhaps more unfortunate, were ſent to languiſh out their lives in the dungeons of the Havannah; and this horrible tragedy was ordered by the Spaniſh miniſtry, while the French miniſtry ſhewed no indignation at it!

INHUMAN and cruel maſters, who will be inclined to belong to you? Who will be tempted to be called your ſubjects? By whom will you be ſerved; ſince you diſpoſe of your coloniſts, and cede them without their conſent in oppoſition to the laws of nature and to the rights of mankind, as you would diſpoſe of a herd of cattle? And if they had come out againſt you armed with torches in one hand and daggers in the other; if they had burnt the ſhips of the Spaniards; if they had aſſaſſinated the perſon who was charged with the orders of the court of Madrid; what mortal would be ſo vile as to blame them for it? Would the French government have had a right to be offended at an inſurrection, the violence of which would only have been proportionate to the attachment profeſſed for themſelves? Would not the Spaniſh government have received the chaſtiſement they deſerved? But the coloniſts remained quiet, they ſubmitted with reſignation to the new yoke that was impoſed upon them; they ſtifled their inward murmurs, and took the oath of allegiance that was required of them. Barbarous, ſanguinary and perfidious Spaniards! they ſwore to be faithful to you, and at that very inſtant you were marking out from among them the firſt victims of your authority. Stupid and baſe

baſe coloniſts, where do you conceal yourſelves? What outrages are you ſubmitting to? Your friends, your relations, your chiefs, your defenders, the objects of your affection and of your veneration, are dragging to the ſcaffold and are going to be plunged into obſcure dungeons, and you remain motionleſs! At what period then, and for what reaſon will you expoſe yourſelves to death? Learn at leaſt to know the power under whoſe authority you are to live. Vile rabble, come and learn the fate that awaits you, by that of citizens who are better than yourſelves.

Those of the inhabitants who had been draw'n to the colony by the intereſts of their commercial affairs, terrified with theſe atrocious acts, carried their activity elſewhere. Deſpair made ſeveral proprietors of rich plantations forſake them. The remainder lived in miſery and oppreſſion. Theſe unfortunate people would have had no market for their productions, nor any means of procuring the common neceſſaries of life; had it not been for ſome clandeſtine connections which they carried on with the Engliſh, who trade on the Miſſiſſippi, one of the two ſhores of which they poſſeſs and enrich. Their deſtiny muſt in time become rather leſs diſagreeable, becauſe the communication between Spain and her colonies, are freed from many ſhackles, and becauſe the French iſlands have had the liberty granted them of obtaining from that great province, upon their own ſhips, wood and ſubſiſtence. The court of Madrid, however, hath ſo many more important concerns in the new hemiſphere,

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miſphere, that it may be foretold they will never attend ſeriouſly to the proſperity of Louiſiana.

But can the wretched ſituation of theſe coloniſts, who have ſuffered their fellow-citizens to be maſſacred, excite any great degree of compaſſion? Is not their miſery a juſt puniſhment, which they have deſerved? Doth not their conſcience, that ſevere judge of all our obligations; inceſſantly reproach them in the following terms: "You had honeſt and virtuous magiſtrates, "whoſe care was employed all day in contri- "buting to your happineſs, and in watching "over your ſafety in the night, and over your "intereſts during the whole year; you had "among you fellow-citizens, who loved and who "ſuccoured you, and moſt of them were at- "tached to you by the moſt ſacred ties. They "were either your fathers, your brothers, or "your children; and you have quietly ſuffered "them to be led to the ſcaffold, or loaded with "chains. You walk with unfeeling indifference "over the ſtones which they have ſtained with "their blood! You bow yourſelves down before "their executioners, and obey their orders! Your "cowardice muſt be puniſhed with the coward's "fate, and the puniſhment muſt ſtill continue, "till the exertions of a noble reſentment ſhall "juſtify you to yourſelves and to us."

Let us now ſee what has been the fate of Canada, which hath likewiſe changed it's mother-country.

State of Canada at the peace of Utrecht.

At the peace of Utrecht, this vaſt country was in a ſtate of weakneſs and miſery not to be conceived.

ceived. This was owen to the French who firſt came there, and who rather threw themſelves into this country than ſettled in it. Moſt of them had done nothing more than run about the woods; the more ſenſible among them had attempted ſome cultures, but without choice or plan. A piece of ground, haſtily tilled and built upon, was as haſtily forſaken. The expences, however, the government had laid out, together with the profits of the fur trade, afforded at intervals to the inhabitants a tolerable ſubſiſtence; but a ſeries of unfortunate wars ſoon deprived them of theſe advantages. In 1714, the exports from Canada did not exceed a hundred thouſand crowns *. This ſum, added to 350,000 livres †, which the government ſent over every year, was all the colony had to depend upon, for the payment of the goods they received from Europe. And indeed theſe were ſo few, that the generality were reduced to wear ſkins like the Indians. Such was the diſtreſsful ſituation of the far greater part of twenty thouſand French, ſuppoſed to inhabit theſe immenſe regions.

Population of Canada, and diſtribution of it's inhabitants.

THE happy ſpirit which at that time animated the ſeveral parts of the world, rouzed Canada from that ſtate of lethargy in which it had ſo long been plunged. It appears from the eſtimates taken in 1753 and 1758, which were nearly equal, that the inhabitants amounted to 91,000 ſouls, excluſive of the regular troops, whoſe numbers varied

* 12,500 l. † 14,583 l. 6 s. 8 d.

according

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according to the different exigencies of the colony.

This calculation did not include the many allies diſperſed throughout an extent of 1200 leagues in length, and of conſiderable breadth, nor the 16,000 Indians who dwelt in the center of the French ſettlements, or in their neighbourhood. None of theſe were ever conſidered as ſubjects, though they lived in the midſt of a great European colony: the ſmalleſt clans ſtill preſerved their indpendence. All men talk of liberty, but the ſavage only enjoys it. Not only the whole nation, but every individual is truly free. The conſciouſneſs of his independence influences all his thoughts and actions. He would enter the palace of an Aſiatic monarch, in the ſame manner as he would the cottage of a peaſant, and neither be dazzled with his ſplendour, nor awed by his power. It is his own ſpecies, it is mankind, it is his equal that he loves and reſpects, but he would hate a maſter, and deſtroy him.

Part of the French colony was centered in three cities. Quebec, the capital of Canada, is 1500 leagues diſtant from France, and 120 leagues from the ſea. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a peninſula, made by the river St. Lawrence, and the river St. Charles, and commands a proſpect over extenſive fields, which ſerve to enrich it, and over a very ſafe road that will admit upwards of two hundred ſhips. It is three miles in circumference. Two thirds of this circuit are defended by the water and the rocks, which are a better ſecurity than the fortifications

erected

erected on the ramparts that divide the peninſula. The houſes are tolerably well built. The inhabitants were computed at about 10,000 at the beginning of the year 1759. This place was the center of commerce, and the ſeat of government.

THE city of the Trois Rivieres, built ten years later than Quebec, and ſituated thirty leagues higher, was raiſed with a view of encouraging the trade with the northern Indians. But this ſettlement, though promiſing at firſt, never contained more than 1500 inhabitants, becauſe the fur trade was ſoon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal.

MONTREAL is an iſland, ten leagues long and almoſt four broad, formed by the river St. Lawrence, ſixty leagues above Quebec. It is the moſt temperate, pleaſant, and fruitful ſpot in all the country. A few huts throw'n up there as it were by chance in 1640, were improved to a regular built town, which contained four thouſand inhabitants. At firſt it lay expoſed to the inſults of the ſavages; but was afterwards incloſed with ſlight palliſades, and then with a wall, conſtructed about fifteen feet high, with battlements. It fell to decay, when the inroads of the Iroquois obliged the French to erect forts higher up the country, to ſecure the fur trade.

THE other coloniſts, who were not contained within the walls of theſe three cities, did not live in towns, but were ſcattered along the banks of the river St. Lawrence. None were to be ſeen near the mouth of that river, where the ſoil is

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uneven and barren, and where no corn will ripen. The firſt habitations to the ſouth, were built at fifty leagues, and to the north, at twenty leagues below Quebec; they were at a great diſtance from each other, and their produce was but indifferent. No very fertile fields were to be found but in the neighbourhood of it's capital, and they improved as one approached Montreal. There cannot be a more beautiful proſpect than the rich borders of that long and broad canal. Detached woods adding beauty to the tops of the verdant mountains, meadows covered with flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, ſmall ſtreams of water flowing down to the river, churches and caſtles ſeen at intervals through the trees, exhibited a ſucceſſion of the moſt inchanting views. This intereſting ſcene did not extend far beyond the river, and for the following reaſon: when the French miniſtry undertook to form a ſettlement in Canada, they gave ſome extent to thoſe active or unfortunate men who were deſirous of ſettling there. But as the cuſtom obſerved at Paris, which ordains, that all the deſcendants of the head of a family ſhall have an equal ſhare in the inheritance, was introduced in the colony at the ſame time, this domain was reduced to little or nothing by a number of ſhares which were divided among a long ſeries of generations.

If the whole of the eſtate had been ſecured to the eldeſt ſon, as the public good required, the province would have taken another turn. The father, urged to œconomy and labour by the deſire of providing for his other children, would have required

required more lands, covered them with buildings, flocks, and cultures, and upon theſe plantations he would have placed his numerous poſterity. The new proprietors would in their turn have followed this proper example of paternal affection, and the whole colony would in time have been entirely peopled and cultivated.

THE advantages of this policy, which had eſcaped the attention of the court of Verſailles, were at length perceived by them in 1745. They forbad the further diviſion of any plantation which ſhould not have an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty in depth. This regulation did not remedy the miſchiefs occaſioned by two ages of ignorance, but it put a ſtop to an inconvenience, which in the end muſt have deſtroyed the colony.

THIS plan of inequality in the diviſion of eſtates, will be conſidered by the vulgar as a ſyſtem of inhumanity contrary to the laws of nature; but can there be any foundation for ſuch a reproach? Can a man who hath ended his career preſerve any rights? Doth he not loſe them all when he ceaſes to breathe? When the Almighty deprives him of life, doth he not deprive him of every thing that had any relation to it? Ought his laſt will to have any influence over the generations which ſucceed him? Certainly not. As long as he lived, he hath enjoyed with reaſon the lands which he cultivated. At his death they belong to the firſt perſon who ſhall take poſſeſſion of them and cultivate them. This is the law of nature. If another order of things hath been

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eſtabliſhed throughout almoſt the whole of the globe, this is a neceſſary conſequence of ſocial inſtitutions. Their laws have derogated from thoſe of nature, to ſecure tranquillity, to encourage induſtry, and to confirm liberty. The government will have a right to act as they have done, when they ſhall think it proper for the intereſts and for the common happineſs of the members of the community, and conſequently in a more or leſs favourable manner to one individual or another. Among the ſeveral poſſible inſtitutions reſpecting the inheritance of the citizens after their deceaſe, there is one which would perhaps meet with ſome approbation. This is, that the eſtates of the deceaſed ſhould return to the maſs of the public funds, to be employed firſt towards the relief of the indigent, and after that, to reſtore perpetually a kind of equality between the fortunes of individuals; when theſe two important objects had been fulfilled, the reſt ſhould be appropriated to the rewarding of virtue and the encouraging of talents.

But to return to Canada, there nature herſelf directed the labours of the huſbandman, and taught him that watery and ſandy grounds, and thoſe where the pine, the fir-tree, and the cedar grew ſolitary, were unfavourable to agriculture; but wherever he found a ſoil covered with maple, oak, beach, hornbeam and ſmall cherry trees, he might reaſonably expect an abundant crop of wheat, rye, maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulſe, and pot-herbs in great plenty, and of all kinds.

Most

Most of the inhabitants had a ſcore of ſheep, whoſe wool was very valuable to them; ten or a dozen milch cows, and five or ſix oxen for the plough. The cattle were ſmall, but their fleſh was excellent, and theſe people lived much better than our country people do in Europe.

With this kind of affluence, they could afford to keep a number of horſes; which were not fine, but fit for drudgery, and able to perform journeys of amazing length upon the ſnow. And indeed the coloniſts took ſuch delight in increaſing the breed of them, that in winter time they would feed them with the corn which they themſelves wanted ſometimes at another ſeaſon.

Such was the ſituation of the 83,000 French, diſperſed or collected on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. Above the head of the river, and in what is called the Upper-country, there were 8000 more, who were rather addicted to hunting and trade than to huſbandry.

Their firſt ſettlement was Catarakui, or fort Frontenac, built in 1671, at the entrance of the lake Ontario, to ſtop the inroads of the Engliſh and Iroquois. The bay of this place ſerved as a harbour for the men of war and trading veſſels belonging to this great lake, which might with more propriety be called a ſea, and where ſtorms are almoſt as frequent and as dreadful as on the ocean.

Between the lakes Ontario and Erie, each of which meaſures three hundred leagues in circumference, lies a tract of land fourteen leagues in

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extent. This tract is interſected towards the middle by the famous fall of Niagara, which from it's height, breadth, and ſhape, and from the quantity and impetuoſity of it's waters, is juſtly accounted the moſt wonderful cataract in the world. It was above this grand and awful water-fall, that France had erected fortifications, with a deſign to prevent the Indians from carrying their furs to the rival nation.

Beyond the lake Erie is an extent of land, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Streight, which exceeds all Canada for the mildneſs of the climate, the beauty and variety of the landſcapes, the richneſs of the ſoil, and the profuſion of game and fiſh. Nature has laviſhed all her bleſſings to enrich this beautiful ſpot. But this was not the motive that determined the French to ſettle there in the beginning of the preſent century. It was the vicinity of ſeveral Indian nations, who could ſupply them with conſiderable quantities of furs; and, indeed, this trade increaſed very faſt.

The ſucceſs of this new ſettlement proved fatal to the poſt of Michillimakinach, a hundred leagues further, between the lake Michigan, the lake Huron, and the lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greateſt part of the trade which uſed to be carried on there with the natives, was transferred to the Streight, where it continued.

Beside the forts already mentioned, there were ſome of leſs note, built in different parts of the country, either upon rivers, or at the openings between

tween the mountains; for the firſt ſentiment which intereſt inſpires, is that of miſtruſt, and it's firſt impulſe, is that of attack or defence. Each of theſe forts was provided with a garriſon, which defended the French who were ſettled in the neighbourhood. There were in all eight thouſand ſouls, who inhabited the upper country.

Manners of the French Canadians.

Few of the coloniſts had ſuch manners as it could have been wiſhed they had had. Thoſe whom rural labours fixed in the country, allowed only a few moments to the care of their flocks, and to other indiſpenſible occupations, during the winter. The reſt of the time was paſſed in idleneſs, at public houſes, or in running along the ſnow in ſledges, in imitation of the moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens. When the return of the ſpring called them out to the neceſſary labours of the field, they ploughed the ground ſuperficially without ever manuring it, ſowed it careleſsly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life till harveſt-time. In a country where the people were too proud or too lazy to work by the day, every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be ſeen of that ſprightly joy, which on a fine ſummer's day enlivens the reapers, while they are gathering in their rich harveſt.

This amazing negligence might be owen to ſeveral cauſes. The exceſſive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, totally put a ſtop to the exertions of the inhabitants. They contracted ſuch a habit of idleneſs during the continuance of the ſevere weather for eight months ſucceſſively,

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that labour appeared inſupportable to them even in the fineſt weather. The numerous feſtivals preſcribed by their religion, which owed it's increaſe to their eſtabliſhment, prevented the firſt exertion, as well as they interrupted the progreſs of induſtry. Men are ready enough to comply with that ſpecies of devotion that flatters their indolence. Laſtly, a paſſion for war, which had been purpoſely encouraged among theſe bold and courageous men, made them averſe from the labours of huſbandry. Their minds were ſo entirely captivated with military glory, that they thought only of war, though they engaged in it without pay.

The inhabitants of the cities, eſpecially of the capital, ſpent the winter, as well as the ſummer, in a conſtant ſcene of diſſipation. They were alike inſenſible to the beauties of nature, and to the pleaſures of imagination; they had no taſte for arts or ſciences, for reading or inſtruction. Their only paſſion was amuſement, and perſons of all ages were fond of dancing at aſſemblies. This manner of life conſiderably increaſed the influence of the women, who were poſſeſſed of every attraction, except thoſe ſoft emotions of the ſoul, which alone conſtitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, and addicted to coquetry and gallantry, they were more fond of inſpiring than feeling the tender paſſions. There appeared in both ſexes a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher ſenſe of honour than real honeſty. Superſtition took place of morality, which will always be the caſe, wherever

wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compenſate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers.

Form of government eſtabliſhed in Canada. Impediments which cultivation, induſtry, and fiſhing experienced from it.

IDLENESS, prejudice, and levity, would never have gained ſuch an aſcendant in Canada, had the government been careful to turn the attention of the people to laſting and uſeful objects. But all the coloniſts were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the ſlow and ſure proceſs of laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret; an aweful decree, which they were to ſubmit to without examination. Delays, and repreſentations, were ſo many crimes in the eyes of a deſpotic ruler, who had uſurped a power of puniſhing or abſolving merely by his word. He had the authority of diſpenſing all favours and penalties, rewards and puniſhments; the right of impriſoning without the ſhadow of a crime, and the ſtill more formidable right of enforcing a reverence for his decrees as ſo many acts of juſtice, though they were but the irregular ſallies of his own caprice.

IN early times, this unlimited power was not exerciſed in matters of military diſcipline and political adminiſtration only, but extended even to civil juriſdiction. The governor decided abſolutely, and without appeal, all differences ariſing between the coloniſts. Theſe conteſts were fortunately very rare, in a country where all things might almoſt be ſaid to be in common. This

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dangerous authority ſubſiſted till 1663, at which period a tribunal was erected in the capital for the definitive trial of all cauſes depending throughout the colony. The cuſtom of Paris, modified in conformity to local circumſtances, formed the code of their laws.

This code was not mutilated or disfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The adminiſtration of the finances in Canada, only required a few fines of alienation; a trifling contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal towards maintaining the fortifications; and ſome duties upon all goods imported and exported. Theſe ſeveral articles united, brought no more than 260,200 livres * into the treaſury, in the moſt flouriſhing times of the colony.

The lands were not taxed by government, but were burthened with other charges. At the firſt eſtabliſhment of the colony, the king rewarded his officers, civil and military, and others of his ſubjects whom he wiſhed to remunerate or to enrich, with grants of land, from two to ſix leagues ſquare. Theſe great proprietors, who were men of moderate fortunes, and unſkilled in agriculture, were unable to manage ſuch vaſt eſtates, and were therefore under a neceſſity of making over their lands to veteran ſoldiers, or to the coloniſts, for a perpetual annuity.

Each of theſe vaſſals was commonly allowed ninety acres of land, and engaged to pay an-

* 10,841 l. 13 s. 4 d.

nually

nually to the lord of the manor one or two ſols * per acre, and a meaſure of corn for the entire grant. He likewiſe engaged to work in the lord's mill, and to cede to him, for the miller's fees, the fourteenth part of the flour; he alſo engaged to pay one-twelfth for the fines of alienation, and remained ſubject to the lord's right of repurchaſe.

THERE have been writers who have applauded, with enthuſiaſm, a ſyſtem which appeared proper to confirm order and ſubordination. But was not this introducing into America, the image of the feudal government which for ſo long a time had occaſioned the ruin of Europe? Was it not giving ſubſiſtance to a great number of idle perſons, at the expence of the only claſs of citizens, with which an infant ſtate ought to be peopled? The burthen of an annuitant nobility was ſtill increaſed to theſe uſeful coloniſts, by the additional weight of the exactions of the clergy. This rapacious body obtained of the miniſtry, in 1663, that they ſhould receive *the thirteenth part of all that the ſoil ſhould produce by the labour of man, and of all that it ſhould produce ſpontaneouſly.* This intolerable vexation, in a country which was not yet well ſettled, had laſted four years, when the ſupreme council of Quebec took upon themſelves, in 1667, to reduce the tithes to a twenty-ſixth, and an edict of 1769 confirmed this regulation; which was ſtill too favourable to the prieſts.

* A halfpenny or a penny.

So

So many impediments previouſly oppoſed to the progreſs of agriculture, diſabled the colony from paying for the neceſſaries that came from the mother-country. The French miniſtry were at laſt ſo fully convinced of this truth, that after having always obſtinately oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of manufactures in America, they thought it their intereſt even to promote them in 1706. But thoſe late encouragements had very little effect, and the united induſtry of the coloniſts could never produce more than a few coarſe linens, and ſome very bad woollens.

THE fiſheries were not much more attended to than the manufactures. The only one that could become an object of exportation was that of the ſeal. This animal has been ranked in the claſs of fiſh, though he be not dumb; he is always produced on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is ſomewhat like that of a maſtiff. He has four paws, which are very ſhort, eſpecially the hinder ones, which ſerve him rather to crawl than to walk upon. They are ſhaped like fins, but the fore-feet have claws. His ſkin is hard and covered with ſhort hair. He is at firſt white, but turns ſandy or black, as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all theſe three different colours.

THERE are two different kinds of ſeals. The larger one ſometimes weighs two thouſand pounds, and ſeems to have a ſharper ſnout than the others. The ſmall ones, whoſe ſkin is commonly marbled, are active, and more dexterous in extricating themſelves out of the ſnares that are

are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them ſo far as to make them follow them.

THEY couple upon the rocks, and ſometimes on the ice, and it is there alſo that the dams bring forth their young. They commonly bear two, and they uſually ſuckle them in the water, but more frequently on land. When they want to teach them to ſwim, it is ſaid they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are ſtrong enough to ſwim of themſelves. Moſt little birds flutter about from ſpray to ſpray, before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boiſterous winds; it is not therefore ſurpriſing, that the ſeal, produced on land, ſhould uſe her little ones to live under water.

THIS amphibious animal is fiſhed for only on the Labrador coaſt. The Canadians go to this frozen and almoſt uninhabitable coaſt, towards the middle of October, and remain there till the beginning of June. They place their nets between the continent and a few ſmall iſlands at a little diſtance. The ſeals, who commonly come in ſhoals, from the Eaſt, attempt to paſs thoſe kinds of Streights, and are caught. When they are conveyed to land, they remain frozen there till the month of May. They are then throw'n into hot kettles, from whence their oil flows into another veſſel, where it cools. Seven or eight of theſe animals yield a hogſhead of oil.

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THE ſkin of the ſeal was formerly uſed for muffs, but afterwards to cover trunks, and to make ſhoes and boots. When it is well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of Morocco leather. If it be not quite ſo fine, it preſerves, however, it's colour longer.

THE fleſh of the ſeal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account when boiled down to oil. This oil keeps clear for a long time, has no bad ſmell, and leaves no ſediment. It is uſed for burning and dreſſing leather.

FIVE or ſix ſmall ſhips were fitted out yearly from Canada for the ſeal fiſhery; and one or two leſs for the Caribbee iſlands. It received from the iſlands nine or ten veſſels laden with rum, molaſſes, coffee, and ſugar; and from France about thirty ſhips, the lading of which together might amount to nine thouſand tons.

IN the interval between the two laſt wars, which was the moſt flouriſhing period of the colony, the exports did not exceed 1,200,000 livres* in furs, 800,000 † in beaver, 250,000 ‡ in ſeal oil, the ſame in flour and peas, and 150,000 livres § in wood of all kinds. Theſe ſeveral articles put together, amounted only to 2,650,000 livres ‖ a year; a ſum ſufficient to pay for the commodities ſent from the mother-country. The government made up the deficiency.

* 50,000 l.
† 33,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.
‡ 10,416 l. 13 s. 4 d.
§ 6,250 l.
‖ 110,416 l. 13 s. 4 d.

WHEN

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When the French were firſt in poſſeſſion of Canada, they had very little ſpecie. The ſmall quantity that was brought in from time to time by the new ſettlers, did not continue in the country, becauſe the neceſſitous ſtate of the colony ſoon occaſioned it to return. This was a great obſtacle to the progreſs of commerce and agriculture. In 1670, the court of Verſailles coined a particular ſort of money for the uſe of all the French ſettlements in America, and ſet a nominal value upon it, one-fourth above the current coin of the mother-country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages that were expected, at leaſt with regard to New France. They, therefore, contrived to ſubſtitute paper currency inſtead of metal, for the payment of the troops, and other expences of government. This ſucceeded till the year 1713, when the engagements that had been made with the adminiſtrators of the colony were not faithfully obſerved. Their bills of exchange draw'n upon the treaſury of the mother-country were not honoured, and from that time fell into diſcredit. They were at laſt paid off in 1720, with the loſs of five-eighths.

Taxes levied in Canada. Expences of the miniſtry in that country. Manner in which they were paid. To what exceſs they were carried, and how they were got rid of.

This event occaſioned the revival of the uſe of ſpecie in Canada: but this expedient laſted only two years. The merchants found it troubleſome, chargeable, and hazardous to ſend money to France, and ſo did all the coloniſts who had any remittances to make; ſo that they were the firſt to ſolicit the re-eſtabliſhment of paper-currency. This conſiſted of cards, on which were ſtamped the arms of

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France and Navarre, and they were ſigned by the governor, the intendant and the comptroller. They were of twenty-four *, twelve †, ſix ‡, and three livres ‖; and of thirty §, fifteen ¶, and ſeven ſols and a half **. The value of the whole number that was made out, did not exceed a million of livres ††. When this ſum was not ſufficient for the public exigencies, the deficiency was made up by orders ſigned only by the intendant. This was the firſt abuſe; but one of ſtill greater conſequence was, that their number was unlimited. The ſmalleſt were of twenty ſols ‡‡, and the higheſt of a hundred livres |||. Theſe different papers circulated in the colony, and ſupplied the want of ſpecie till the month of October. This was the lateſt ſeaſon for the ſhips to ſail from Canada. Then all this paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange, payable in France by the government, which was ſuppoſed to have made uſe of the value. But they were ſo multiplied by the year 1754, that the royal treaſury could no longer anſwer ſuch large demands, and was forced to protract the payment. An unfortunate war that broke out two years after, ſo increaſed their number, that at laſt they were prohibited. This preſently raiſed the price of all commodities to an immoderate degree; and as, on account of the enormous expences of the war, the king was the chief conſumer, he alone bore

* 1 l. † 10 s. ‡ 5 s.
‖ 2 s. 6 d. § 1 s. 3 d. ¶ 7½ d.
** 3½ d. †† 41,666 l. 13. 4 d. ‡‡ 10 d.
||| 4 l. 3 s. 4 d.

the

the loſs ariſing from the diſcarded paper, and from the dearneſs of the goods. In 1759, the miniſtry were obliged to ſtop payment of the Canada bills, till their origin and their real value could be traced. They amounted to an alarming number.

THE annual expences of government for Canada, which in 1729 did not exceed 400,000 livres †, and before 1749 never were greater than 1,700,000 ‡, were immenſe after that period. The year 1750 coſt 2,100,000 ‖; the year 1751, 2,700,000 §; the year 1752, 4,090,000 ¶; the year 1753, 5,300,000 **; the year 1754, 4,450,000 ††; the year 1755, 6,100,000 ‡‡; the year 1756, 11,300,000 ‖‖; the year 1757, 19,250,000 §§; the year 1758, 27,900,000 ¶¶; the year 1759, 26,000,000 ***; the firſt eight months of the year 1760, 13,500,000 †††. Of theſe prodigious ſums 80,000,000 ‡‡‡ were due at the peace.

THIS infamous debt was traced up to it's origin. The malverſations were horrid. Some perſons, who had become delinquents from the abuſe of the unlimited power which government had granted them, were degraded, baniſhed, and ſtripped of part of their plunder. Others, not leſs guilty, by diſtributing their gold with a laviſh

† 16,666l. 13s. 4d.
‖ 87,500l.
¶ 170,416l. 13s. 4d.
†† 185,416l. 13s. 4d.
‖‖ 470,833l. 6s. 8d.
¶¶ 1,162,500l.
††† 562,500l.
‡ 71,833l. 6s. 8d.
§ 112,500l.
** 220,833l. 6s. 8d.
‡‡ 254,166l. 13s. 4d.
§§ 802,083l. 6s. 8d.
*** 1,083,333l. 6s. 8d.
‡‡‡ 3,333,333l. 6s. 8d.

hand,

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hand, eſcaped reſtitution and infamy, and inſolently enjoyed the fortune they had acquired by ſuch criminal means. The bills of exchange were reduced to one half, and the orders to a fourth part of their value. They were both paid in bonds bearing four per cent. intereſt, which fell into the greateſt diſcredit.

In the debt of eighty millions *, the Canadians were holders of thirty-four millions † in orders, and ſeven millions ‡ in bills of exchange. Their paper was ſubjected to the general regulation: but Great Britain, whoſe ſubjects they were become, obtained for them an indemnity of three millions ‖ in bonds, and ſix hundred thouſand livres § in ſpecie; ſo that they received fifty-five per cent. upon their bills of exchange, and thirty-four per cent upon their orders.

Advantages which France might have derived from Canada.

If Canada did not deſerve theſe ſacrifices from the mother-country, it was the fault of the power that gave laws to it. Nature had made this country proper for the production of all kinds of grain, which are here of a ſuperior quality, and liable to few accidents, becauſe when ſow'n in May, they are gathered before the end of Auguſt. The wants of the American iſlands, and of part of Europe, ſecure the ſale of them at an advantageous price. Nevertheleſs, no more wheat was ever cultivated than what was neceſſary for the coloniſts, who were even ſometimes reduced

* 3,333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d
† 1,416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.
‡ 291,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.
‖ 125,400 l.
§ 250,000 l.

to

to the neceſſity of drawing their ſubſiſtence from foreign markets.

If huſbandry had been encouraged and extended, the breed of cattle would have been increaſed. There is ſuch plenty of paſture ground, and of acorns, that the colonies might eaſily have bred oxen and hogs enough to ſupply the French iſlands with beef and pork, without having recourſe to Iriſh beef. Poſſibly, theſe cattle might in time have increaſed ſufficiently to furniſh the traders of the mother-country.

The ſame advantages could not have been obtained from their ſheep, even if the rigour of the climate had not ſet an invincible obſtacle to their multiplication. Their fleece, which muſt always be coarſe, can only be uſefully employed in the colony itſelf, for ſtuffs of a more or leſs ordinary kind.

The ſame thing cannot be ſaid of the Ginſeng. This plant, which the Chineſe procure from the Corea, or from Tartary, and which they buy at the weight of gold, was found in 1720 by the Jeſuit Lafitau, in the foreſts of Canada, where it grows very common. It was ſoon carried to Canton, where it was much eſteemed, and ſold at an extravagant price. The Gin-ſeng, which at firſt ſold at Quebec for thirty or forty ſols * a pound, roſe to twenty-five livres †. In 1752, the Canadians exported this plant to the value of 500,000 livres ‡. There was ſuch a de-

* About 1 s. 6 d. on an average.

† 1 l. 0 s. 10 d.

‡ 20,833 l. 6 s. 8 d.

mand for it, that they were induced to gather in May what ought not to have been gathered till September, and to dry in the oven what ſhould have been dried gradually in the ſhade. This ſpoilt the ſale of the Gin-ſeng of Canada, in the only country in the world where it could find a market; and the coloniſts were ſeverely puniſhed for their exceſſive rapaciouſneſs, by the total loſs of a branch of commerce, which, if rightly managed, might have proved a ſource of opulence.

ANOTHER and a ſurer plan for the encouragement of induſtry, was the working of the iron mines which abound in thoſe parts. Mr. Dantic hath laboured for a long time to diſcover a certain method of claſſing all the kinds of iron that are know'n. After a great number of experiments, the detail of which would be improper here, he hath found that the iron of Styria was the beſt. The ſecond beſt is the iron of North America, of Danemara in Sweden, of Spain, of Bayonne, of Rouſſillon, of the country of Foix, of Berri, of Thierache, and of Sweden, the common iron of France, and laſtly, that of Siberia. If this be really the caſe, what advantage might not the court of Verſailles have derived from the mine which was diſcovered at the Trois Rivieres, which is exceedingly abundant, and near the ſurface of the earth? At firſt it was only careleſsly and improperly worked; but theſe labours were increaſed and improved, by a blackſmith arrived from Europe in 1739. The colony made uſe of no other iron than this; ſome ſpecimens of it were even exported, but there the matter reſted.

reſted. This negligence was the more inexcuſable, as at this period the reſolution had been taken, after much heſitation, to form a naval ſettlement in Canada.

The firſt Europeans who landed on that vaſt region, found it entirely covered with foreſts. The principal trees were oaks of prodigious height, and pines of all ſizes. Theſe woods, when felled, might have been conveyed with eaſe down the river St. Lawrence, and the numberleſs rivers that fall into it. By an unaccountable fatality, all theſe treaſures were overlooked or deſpiſed. At length the attention of the court of Verſailles was turned towards them; and ſome docks were conſtructed by their orders at Quebec, for building men of war: but this buſineſs was, unfortunately, truſted to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private intereſt.

The timber ſhould have been felled upon the hills, where the cold air hardens the wood by contracting it's fibres: whereas it was conſtantly taken from marſhy grounds, and from the banks of the rivers, where the moiſture gives it a looſer and a richer texture. Inſtead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down on rafts to the place of it's deſtination, where, being forgotten and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moſs that rotted it. Inſtead of being put under ſheds when it was landed, it was left expoſed to the ſun in ſummer, to the ſnow in winter, and to the rains in ſpring and autumn. It was then conveyed into the dock-yards, where it again ſuſtained the inclemency of the ſeaſons for two or three years.

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Negligence or diſhoneſty enhanced the price of every thing to ſuch a degree, that ſails, ropes, pitch and tar, were imported from Europe into a country, which, with a little induſtry, might have ſupplied the whole kingdom of France with all theſe materials. This bad management had brought the wood of Canada entirely into diſrepute, and effectually ruined the reſources which that country afforded for the navy.

The colony furniſhed the manufactures of the mother-country with a branch of trade that might almoſt be called an excluſive one, which was the preparation of the beaver. This commodity at firſt was ſubjected to the oppreſſive reſtraints of monopoly. The India company could not but make an ill uſe of their privilege, and really did ſo. What they bought of the Indians was chiefly paid for in Engliſh ſcarlet cloths, which thoſe people were very fond of wearing. But as they could make twenty-five or thirty per cent. more of their commodities in the Engliſh ſettlements than the company choſe to give, they carried thither all they could conceal from the ſearch of the company's agents, and exchanged their beaver for Engliſh cloth and India callicoe. Thus did France, by the abuſe of an inſtitution which ſhe was by no means obliged to maintain, deprive herſelf of the double advantage of furniſhing materials to ſome of her own manufactures, and of ſecuring a market for the produce of others. She was equally ignorant of the facility of eſtabliſhing a whale fiſhery in Canada.

The

THE chief ſources of this fiſhery are Davis's Streights and Greenland. Fifty ſhips come every year into the former of theſe latitudes, and a hundred and fifty into the latter. The Dutch are concerned in more than three-fourths of them. The reſt are fitted out from Bremen, Hamburgh and England. It is computed that the whole expence of fitting out 200 ſhips of 350 tons burden, upon an average muſt amount to 10,000,000 of livres *. The uſual produce of each is rated at 80,000 livres †, and conſequently the whole amount of the fiſhery cannot be leſs than 3,200,000 livres ‡. If we deduct from this the profits of the ſeamen who are employed in theſe hard and dangerous voyages, very little remains for the merchants concerned in this trade.

THESE circumſtances have by degrees diſguſted the Biſcayans of a trade, in which they were the firſt adventurers. Other Frenchmen have not been induced to take it up, inſomuch that the whale fiſhery has been totally abandoned by that nation, which of all others conſumed the greateſt quantity of blubber, whale-bone, and ſperma-ceti.

IT was an eaſy matter to take it up again in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and even at the mouth of the Saguenay, which is cloſe to the excellent port of Tadouſſac. It is even affirmed, that it hath been tried on the firſt arrival of the French in Canada, and that it hath been interrupted for

* 416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. † 3,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.
‡ 1,333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

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no other reaſon than becauſe the profits of the fur-trade were more eaſy and more rapid. It is, however, certain, that the fiſhery in the river St. Lawrence would have been attended with leſs danger and leſs expence, than at Davis's Streights or Greenland. It hath ever been the fate of this colony, that the beſt ſchemes with regard to it have not been purſued with perſeverance; and that in particular the government have never done any thing for the encouragement of the whale fiſhery, which might have proved an excellent nurſery for ſeamen, and given to France a new branch of commerce.

The ſame indifference hath been carried ſtill further. The cod fiſh frequent particularly the river St. Lawrence, as high up as at the diſtance of fourſcore leagues from the ſea. They may be caught as they paſs over this vaſt ſpace. It would, however, be advantageous to eſtabliſh a ſettled fiſhery at the harbour of Mont Louis, ſituated at the mouth of a pleaſant river, which can receive veſſels of one hundred tons burthen, and which ſhelters them from every kind of danger. The fiſh is more plentiful there than any where elſe. Every convenience required for drying the fiſh is found upon the ſhores; and the neighbouring lands are very proper for paſture grounds or culture. Every circumſtance induces us to believe that a colony would proſper in that ſituation. This was the opinion in 1697; and an aſſociation was formed at this period to begin this undertaking, by the attention of Riverin, an active and intelligent man. Numberleſs obſtacles occaſioned the

the failure of this project, which hath been ſince reſumed, but very careleſsly executed. This was a great misfortune for Canada, which, had it been remarkable for any ſucceſs of this kind, would thereby have greatly extended it's connections with Europe and with the Weſt Indies.

Every circumſtance, therefore, conſpired to promote the proſperity of the ſettlements in Canada, if they had been aſſiſted by the men who ſeemed to be moſt intereſted in them. But whence could proceed that inconceivable want of induſtry, which ſuffered them to remain in the ſame wretched ſtate they were in at firſt?

Difficulties which France had to overcome, in order to derive advantages from Canada.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the nature of the climate preſented ſome obſtacles to the efforts of policy. The river St. Lawrence is frozen up for ſix months in the year. At other times it is not navigable by night, on account of thick fogs, rapid currents, ſand-banks, and concealed rocks, which make it even dangerous by day-light. From Quebec to Montreal, the river is only practicable for veſſels of three hundred tons burthen, and even theſe are frequently impeded by terrible winds, which detain them a fortnight or three weeks in this ſhort paſſage. From Montreal to the Lake Ontario, traders meet with no leſs than ſix water-falls, which oblige them to unload their canoes, and to convey them and their lading a conſiderable way by land.

Far from encouraging men to ſurmount the difficulties of nature, a miſinformed government planned none but ruinous ſchemes. To gain the advantage over the Engliſh in the fur trade, they

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erected three and thirty forts, at a great distance from each other. The building and victualling of them diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have engrossed their attention. This error engaged them in an arduous and perilous track.

It was not without some uneasiness that the Indians saw the formation of these settlements, which might endanger their liberty Their suspicions induced them to take up arms, so that the colony was seldom free from war. Necessity made all the Canadians soldiers. Their manly and military education rendered them hardy from their youth, and fearless of danger. Before they had arrived to the age of manhood, they would traverse a vast continent in the summer-time in canoes, and in winter on foot, through ice and snow. Having nothing but their gun to procure subsistence with, they were in continual danger of starving; but they were under no apprehension, not even of falling into the hands of the savages, who had exerted all the efforts of their imagination in inventing tortures for their enemies, far worse than death.

The sedentary arts of peace, and the constant labours of agriculture, could have no attraction for men accustomed to an active but wandering life. The court, which form no idea of the sweets or the utility of rural life, increased the aversion which the Canadians had conceived for it, by bestowing all their favours and honours upon military exploits alone. The distinction that was chiefly lavished was that of nobility, which was attended

attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleneſs, but alſo inſpired them with an unconquerable paſſion for every thing that was ſplendid. Profits which ought to have been kept ſacred for the improvement of the lands, were laid out in ornament, and a real poverty was concealed under the trappings of deſtructive luxury.

Origin of the wars between the Engliſh and the French in Canada.

Such was the ſtate of the colony in 1747, when La Galiſſoniere was appointed governor. He was a man poſſeſſed of very extenſive knowlege, active and reſolute, and of a courage the more ſteady, as it was the effect of reaſon. The Engliſh wanted to extend the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as far as the ſouth ſide of the river St. Lawrence. He thought this an unjuſt claim, and was determined to confine them within the peninſula, which he apprehended to be the boundary ſettled even by treaties. Their ambition of incroaching on the inland parts, particularly towards the Ohio, or Fair River, he likewiſe thought unreaſonable. He was of opinion that the Apalachian mountains ought to be the limits of their poſſeſſions, and was fully determined they ſhould not paſs them. His ſucceſſor, who was appointed while he was preparing the means of accompliſhing this vaſt deſign, entered into his views with all the warmth they deſerved. Numbers of forts were immediately erected on all ſides, to ſupport the ſyſtem which the court had adopted, perhaps, without foreſeeing, or, at leaſt, without ſufficiently attending to the conſequences.

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At this period began thoſe hoſtilities between the Engliſh and the French in North America, which were rather countenanced than openly avowed by the reſpective mother-countries. This clandeſtine mode of carrying on the war was perfectly agreeable to the miniſtry at Verſailles, as it afforded an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without expoſing their weakneſs, what they had loſt by treaties, at a time when the enemy had impoſed their own terms. Theſe repeated checks at laſt opened the eyes of Great Britain, and diſcloſed the political deſigns of her rival. George II. thought that a clandeſtine war was inconſiſtent with the ſuperiority of his maritime forces. His ſhips were ordered to attack thoſe of the French in all parts of the world. The Engliſh accordingly took or diſperſed all the French ſhips they met with, and in 1758 ſteered towards Cape-Breton.

Conqueſt of Cape-Breton by the Engliſh.

This iſland, the key of Canada, had already been attacked in 1745; and the event is of ſo ſingular a nature, that it deſerves a particular detail. The plan of this firſt invaſion was laid at Boſton, and New-England bore the expence of it. A merchant, named Pepperel, who had excited, encouraged and directed the enthuſiaſm of the colony, was intruſted with the command of an army of 6000 men, which had been levied for this expedition.

Though theſe forces, convoyed by a ſquadron from Jamaica, brought the firſt news to Cape-Breton of the danger that threatened it; though the advantage of a ſurpriſe would have ſecured the

the landing without oppoſition; though they had but 600 regular troops to encounter, and 800 inhabitants haſtily armed, the ſucceſs of the undertaking was ſtill precarious. What great exploits, indeed, could be expected from a militia ſuddenly aſſembled, who had never ſeen a ſiege or faced an enemy, and were to act under the direction of ſea-officers only? Theſe unexperienced troops ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of ſome fortunate incident, which they were indeed favoured with in a ſingular manner.

The conſtruction and repairs of the fortifications had always been left to the care of the garriſon of Louiſbourg. The ſoldiers were eager of being employed in theſe works, which they conſidered as conducive to their ſafety, and as the means of procuring them a comfortable ſubſiſtence. When they found that thoſe who were to have paid them appropriated to themſelves the profit of their labours, they demanded juſtice. It was denied them, and they determined to aſſert their right. As theſe depredations had been ſhared between the chief perſons of the colony and the ſubaltern officers, the ſoldiers could obtain no redreſs. Their indignation againſt theſe rapacious extortioners roſe to ſuch a height, that they deſpiſed all authority. They had lived in open rebellion for ſix months, when the Engliſh appeared before the place.

This was the time to conciliate the minds of both parties, and to unite in the common cauſe. The ſoldiers made the firſt advances; but their commanders miſtruſted a generoſity of which they themſelves

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themſelves were incapable. Had theſe mean oppreſſors conceived it poſſible that the ſoldiers could have entertained ſuch elevated notions as to ſacrifice their own reſentment to the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this diſpoſition, and have fallen upon the enemy while they were forming their camp, and beginning to open their trenches. Beſiegers unacquainted with the principles of the art of war, would have been diſconcerted by regular and vigorous attacks. The firſt checks might have been ſufficient to diſcourage them, and to make them relinquiſh the undertaking. But it was firmly believed that the ſoldiers were only deſirous of ſallying out, that they might have an opportunity of deſerting; and their own officers kept them in a manner priſoners, till a defence ſo ill managed had reduced them to the neceſſity of capitulating. The whole iſland ſhared the fate of Louiſbourg, it's only bulwark.

This valuable poſſeſſion, reſtored to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was again attacked by the Engliſh in 1758. On the 2d of June, a fleet of twenty-three ſhips of the line and eighteen frigates, carrying 16,000 well-diſciplined troops, anchored in Gabarus bay, within half a league of Louiſbourg. As it was evident that it would be to no purpoſe to land at a greater diſtance, becauſe it would be impoſſible to bring up the artillery and other neceſſaries for a conſiderable ſiege, it had been attempted to render the landing impracticable near the town. In the prudent precautions that had been taken, the beſiegers ſaw the dangers

and difficulties they had to expect; but far from being deterred by them, they had recourse to stratagem; and while by extending their line they threatened and commanded the whole coast, they landed by force of arms at the creek of Cormoran.

This place was naturally weak. The French had fortified it with a good parapet planted with cannon. Behind this rampart they had posted 2000 excellent soldiers and some Indians. In front they had made such a close hedge with branches of trees, that would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. This kind of palliſade, which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a distance to be nothing more than a verdant plain.

This would have preserved the colony, had the assailants been suffered to complete their landing, and to advance with the confidence, that they had but few obstacles to surmount. Had this been the case, overpowered at once by the fire of the artillery and the small arms, they would infallibly have perished on the shore, or in the hurry of embarking; especially as the sea was just then very rough. This unexpected loss might have interrupted the whole project.

But all the prudent precautions that had been taken, were rendered abortive by the impetuosity of the French. The English had scarce begun to move towards the shore, when their enemies hastened to discover the snare they had laid for them. By the brisk and hasty fire that was aimed

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at their boats, and ſtill more by the premature removal of the boughs that maſked the forces, which it was ſo much the intereſt of the French to conceal, they gueſſed at the danger they were going to ruſh into. They immediately turned back, and ſaw no other place to effect their landing upon but a rock, which had been always deemed inacceſſible. General Wolfe, though much taken up in re-imbarking his troops, and ſending off the boats, gave the ſignal to Major Scot to repair thither.

The officer immediately removed to the ſpot with his men. His own boat coming up firſt, and ſinking at the very inſtant he was ſtepping out, he climbed up the rock alone. He was in hopes of meeting with a hundred of his men, who had been ſent thither ſome hours before. He found only ten. With theſe few, however, he gained the ſummit of the rock. Ten Indians and ſixty Frenchmen killed two of his men, and mortally wounded three. In ſpite of his weakneſs, he ſtood his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardleſs of the boiſterous waves and the fire of the cannon, came up to him, and put him in full poſſeſſion of that important poſt, the only one that could ſecure their landing.

The French, as ſoon as they ſaw that the enemy had got a firm footing on land, betook themſelves to the only remaining refuge, and ſhut themſelves up in Louiſbourg. The fortifications were in a bad condition, becauſe the ſea ſand, which they had been obliged to uſe, is by no means fit for

works of maſonry. The revetements of the ſeveral curtains were entirely crumbled away. There was only one caſement and a ſmall magazine that were bomb proof. The garriſon which was to defend the place conſiſted only of 2900 men.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe diſadvantages, the beſieged were determined to make an obſtinate reſiſtance. While they were employed in defending themſelves with ſo much firmneſs, the ſuccours they expected from Canada might poſſibly arrive. At all events, this reſiſtance might be the means of preſerving that great colony from all further invaſion for the remainder of the campaign. It is ſcarce credible that the French were confirmed in their reſolution by the courage of a woman. Madame de Drucourt was continually upon the ramparts, with her purſe in her hand; and firing herſelf three guns every day, ſeemed to diſpute with the governor, her huſband, the glory of his office. The beſieged were not diſmayed at the ill-ſucceſs of their ſeveral ſallies, or the maſterly operations concerted by Admiral Boſcawen and General Amherſt. It was but at the eve of an aſſault, which it was impoſſible to ſuſtain, that they talked of ſurrendering. They made an honourable capitulation, and the conqueror ſhewed more reſpect for his enemy and for himſelf, than to ſully his glory by any act of barbarity or avarice.

THE conqueſt of Cape-Breton opened the way into Canada. The very next year the ſeat of war was removed thither, or rather the ſcenes of bloodſhed,

The Engliſh attack Canada. They at firſt experience great mis-

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bloodſhed, which had long been acted over that immenſe country, were multiplied. The cauſe of theſe proceedings was this.

fortunes there. Cauſes of them.

THE French, ſettled in thoſe parts, had carried their ambitious views towards the north, where the fineſt furs were to be had, and in the greateſt plenty. When this vein of wealth was exhauſted, or yielded leſs than it did at firſt, their trade turned ſouthward, where they diſcovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of the Fair River. It laid open the natural communication between Canada and Louiſiana. For though the ſhips that ſail up the river St. Lawrence go no further than Quebec, the navigation is carried on in barges to lake Ontario, which is only parted from lake Erie by a neck of land, where the French, upon their firſt ſettling, built Fort Niagara. It is on this ſpot, in the neighbourhood of lake Erie, that the ſource of the river Ohio is found, which waters the fineſt country in the world, and being increaſed by the many rivers that fall into it, diſcharges itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi.

THE French however made no uſe of this magnificent canal. The trifling intercourſe that ſubſiſted between the two colonies was always carried on by the northern regions. The new way, which was much ſhorter and eaſier than the old, firſt began to be frequented by a body of troops that were ſent over to Canada in 1739, to aſſiſt the colony of Louiſiana, then engaged in an open war with the Indians. After this expedition, the ſouthern road was again forgotten, and was never thought of till the year 1753. At that period, ſeveral

ſeveral ſmall forts were erected along the Ohio, the courſe of which had been traced for four years paſt. The moſt conſiderable of theſe forts took it's name from the governor Duqueſne who had built it.

The Engliſh colonies could not ſee without concern French ſettlements raiſed behind them, which joined to the old ones, and ſeemed to ſurround them. They were apprehenſive leſt the Apalachian mountains, which were to form the natural boundaries between both nations, ſhould not prove a ſufficient barrier againſt the attempts of a reſtleſs and warlike neighbour. Urged by this motive, they themſelves paſſed theſe famous mountains, to diſpute the poſſeſſion of the Ohio with the rival nation. This firſt ſtep proved unſucceſsful. The ſeveral parties that were ſucceſſively ſent out, were routed; and the forts were demoliſhed as faſt as they were built.

To put an end to theſe national affronts, and revenge the diſgrace they reflected on the mother-country, a large body of troops was ſent over, under the command of General Braddock. In the ſummer of 1755, as this general was marching to attack Fort Duqueſne with 36 pieces of cannon and 6000 men, he was ſurpriſed, within four leagues of the place, by 250 Frenchmen and 650 Indians, and all his army cut to pieces. This unaccountable diſaſter put a ſtop to the march of three numerous bodies that were advancing to fall upon Canada. The terror occaſioned by this accident, made them haſten back to their quarters,

and in the next campaign, all their motions were guided by the moſt timorous caution.

The French were emboldened by this perplexity, and though very much inferior to the Engliſh, ventured to appear before Oſwego in Auguſt 1756. It was originally a fortified magazine at the mouth of the river Onondago on the lake Ontario. It ſtood nearly in the center of Canada, in ſo advantageous a ſituation, that many works had from time to time been erected there, which had rendered it one of the moſt capital poſts in thoſe parts. It was garriſoned by 1800 men, with 121 pieces of cannon, and great plenty of ſtores of all kinds. Though ſo well provided, it ſurrendered in a few days to the impetuous and bold attacks of 3000 men who were laying ſiege to it.

In Auguſt 1757, 5500 French and 1800 Indians marched up to Fort George, ſituated on lake Sacrament, which was juſtly conſidered as the bulwark of the Engliſh Settlements, and the rendezvous of all the forces deſtined againſt Canada. Nature and art had conſpired to block up the roads leading to that place, and to make all acceſs impracticable. Theſe advantages were further ſtrengthened by ſeveral bodies of troops, placed at proper diſtances in the beſt poſitions. Yet theſe obſtacles were ſurmounted with ſuch prudence and intrepidity, as would have been memorable in hiſtory, had the ſcene of action lain in a more diſtinguiſhed ſpot. The French, after killing or diſperſing all the ſmall parties they

they met with, arrived before the place, and forced the garriſon, conſiſting of 2264 men, to capitulate.

THIS freſh diſaſter rouſed the Engliſh. Their generals applied themſelves during the winter to the training up of their men, and bringing the ſeveral troops under a proper diſcipline. They made them exerciſe in the woods, in fighting after the Indian manner. In the ſpring, the army, conſiſting of 6300 regulars and 13,000 militia belonging to the colonies, aſſembled on the ruins of Fort George. They embarked on lake Sacrament, which parted the colonies of both nations, and marched up to Carillon, which was only at the diſtance of one league.

THAT fort which had been but lately erected on the breaking out of the war, to cover Canada, was not of ſufficient extent to withſtand the forces that were marching againſt it. Intrenchments were formed haſtily under the cannon of the fort, with ſtems of trees heaped up one upon another, and large trees were laid in front, the branches of which being cut and ſharpened, anſwered the purpoſe of chevaux-de-friſe. The colours were planted on the top of the ramparts, behind which lay 3500 men.

THE Engliſh were not diſmayed at theſe formidable appearances, being fully determined to remove the diſgrace of their former miſcarriages in a country where the proſperity of their trade depended on the ſucceſs of their arms. On the 8th of July 1758, they ruſhed upon theſe palliſades with the moſt extravagant fury. Neither

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were they diſconcerted by the French firing upon them from the top of the parapet, while they were unable to defend themſelves. They fell upon the ſharp ſpikes, and were entangled among the ſtumps and boughs through which their eagerneſs had made them ruſh. All theſe loſſes ſerved but to increaſe their impetuous rage, which continued upwards of four hours, and coſt them above 4000 of their brave men before they would give up this raſh and deſperate undertaking.

They were equally unſucceſsful in ſmaller actions. They did not attack one poſt without meeting with a repulſe. Every party they ſent out was beaten, and every convoy intercepted. The ſeverity of the winter might have been ſuppoſed to ſecure them, but even in this rigorous ſeaſon the Indians and Canadians carried fire and ſword to the frontiers, and into the very center of the Engliſh colonies.

All theſe diſaſters were owen to a falſe principle of government. The court of London had always entertained a notion that the ſuperiority of their navy was alone ſufficient to aſſert their dominion in America, as it afforded a ready conveyance for ſuccours, and could eaſily intercept the enemy's forces.

Though experience had ſhew'n the fallacy of this idea, the miniſtry did not even endeavour, by a proper choice of generals, to rectify the fatal effects it had produced. Almoſt all thoſe who were employed in this ſervice were deficient in point of abilities and activity.

THE armies were not likely to make amends for the defects of their commanders. The troops indeed were not wanting in that daring ſpirit and invincible courage, which is the characteriſtic of the Engliſh ſoldiers, ariſing from the climate, and ſtill more from the nature of their government; but theſe national qualities were counterbalanced or extinguiſhed by the hardſhips they underwent, in a country deſtitute of all the conveniencies that Europe affords. As to the militia of the colonies, it was compoſed of peaceable huſbandmen, who were not, like moſt of the French coloniſts, inured to ſlaughter by a habit of hunting, and by military ardor.

To theſe diſadvantages, ariſing from the nature of things, were added others altogether owen to miſconduct. The poſts erected for the ſafety of the ſeveral Engliſh ſettlements, were not ſo contrived as to ſupport and aſſiſt each other. The provinces having all ſeparate intereſts, and not being united under the authority of one head, did not concur in thoſe joint efforts for the good of the whole, and that unanimity of ſentiments, which alone can inſure the ſucceſs of their meaſures. The ſeaſon of action was waſted in vain altercations between the governors and the coloniſts. Every plan of operation that met with oppoſition from any ſet of men was dropped. If any one was agreed upon, it was certainly made public before the execution, and by that means rendered abortive. To this may be added, the irreconcileable hatred ſubſiſting between them and the Indians.

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THESE nations had always ſhew'n a viſible partiality for the French, in return for their kindneſs in ſending them miſſionaries, whom they conſidered rather as ambaſſadors from the prince, than as ſent from God. Theſe miſſionaries, by ſtudying the language of the ſavages, conforming to their temper and inclinations, and putting in practice every attention to gain their confidence, had acquired an abſolute dominion over their minds. The French coloniſts, far from communicating to them the European manners, had adopted thoſe of the ſavages they lived with: their indolence in time of peace, their activity in war, and their conſtant fondneſs for a wandering life. Several officers of diſtinction had even been incorporated with them. The hatred and jealouſy of the Engliſh has traduced them on this account, and they have not ſcrupled to aſſert that theſe generous men had given money for the ſkulls of their enemies; that they joined in the horrid dances that accompany the execution of their priſoners, imitated their cruelties, and partook of their barbarous feſtivals. But theſe enormities would be better adapted to people who have ſubſtituted national to religious fanaticiſm, and are more inclined to hate other nations, than to love their own government.

THE ſtrong attachment of the Indians to the French was productive of the moſt inveterate hatred againſt the Engliſh. Of all the European ſavages, theſe were, in their opinion, the hardeſt to tame. Their averſion ſoon roſe to madneſs; and they even thirſted for Engliſh blood, when they found

found that a reward was offered for their deſtruction, and that they were to be expelled their native land by foreign aſſaſſins. The ſame hands which had enriched the Engliſh colony with their furs, now took up the hatchet to deſtroy it. The Indians purſued the Engliſh with as much eagerneſs as they did the wild beaſts. Glory was no longer their aim in battle, their only object was ſlaughter. They deſtroyed armies which the French only wiſhed to ſubdue. Their fury roſe to ſuch a height, that an Engliſh priſoner having been conducted into a lonely habitation, the woman immediately cut off his arm, and made her family drink the blood that ran from it. A Jeſuit miſſionary reproaching her with the atrociouſneſs of the action, her anſwer was; *my children muſt be warriours, and therefore muſt be fed with the blood of their enemies.*

Taking of Quebec by the Engliſh. The conqueſt of this capital brings on in time the ſurrender of the whole colony.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, when an Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of three hundred ſail, and commanded by admiral Saunders, entered the river St. Lawrence at the end of June 1759. On a dark night, and with a very favourable wind, eight fire ſhips were ſent out to deſtroy it. Not a ſhip, nor a man could have eſcaped, if the operation had been carried on with that degree of ſkill, coolneſs, and courage which it required. But thoſe who had undertaken it were perhaps deficient in every one of theſe qualities, or at leaſt did not unite them all. Impatient to ſecure their return to land they ſet fire to the ſhips under their management a great deal too ſoon, and the enemy being warned by this of the danger

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that threatened them, escaped it by their activity and boldness, at the expence only of two small vessels.

While the naval forces had so fortunately escaped being destroyed, the army, consisting of ten thousand men, was attacking Levy Point, drove away the French troops which were intrenched there, erected their own batteries, and bombarded Quebec with the greatest success. This town, though situated on the opposite shore of the river, was nevertheless at no greater distance from it than six hundred toises.

But these disadvantages did not lead to the design which the English had in view. Their intentions was to become masters of the capital of the colony, and the coast by which they must have reached it, was so well defended by redoubts, batteries, and troops, that it seemed inaccessible. The enemy were more and more confirmed in this opinion after they had attempted the fall of Montmorency, where they lost fifteen hundred men, and where they might easily have lost all the men they had imprudently landed there.

In the mean time the season was advancing. General Amherst, who was to have caused a diversion towards the lake did not make his appearance, and every hope was even given up of forcing the French in their posts. A general discouragement was beginning to prevail, when Mr. Murray proposed to go with the army and part of the fleet two miles above the town, and to seize upon the heights of Abraham, which the French

French had neglected to guard, becauſe they thought them ſufficiently defended by the very ſteep rocks which ſurrounded them. This brilliant and fortunate idea was eagerly adopted. On the 13th December, five thouſand Engliſh landed at the foot of the heights before day-break, and without being perceived. They clambered up without loſing any time, and formed the line of battle on the top of them, when at nine o'clock they were attacked by two thouſand ſoldiers, five thouſand Canadians, and five hundred ſavages. The action began, and proved favourable to the Engliſh, who at the beginning of it had loſt the intrepid Wolfe their general, but did not loſe their confidence and reſolution.

This was gaining a conſiderable advantage, but it might not have been deciſive. The troops that were poſted within a few leagues of the field of battle, might have been collected in twelve hours, to join the vanquiſhed army, and march up to the conqueror with a ſuperior force. This was the opinion of General Montcalm, who being mortally wounded in the retreat, had time enough before he expired, to conſult the ſafety of his men, and to encourage them to repair their diſaſter. This generous motion was over-ruled by the council of war. The army removed ten leagues off. The Chevalier de Levy, who had haſtened from his poſt to ſucceed Montcalm, cenſured this want of courage. The French were aſhamed of it, wiſhed to recall it, and make another attempt for victory, but it was too late. Quebec, though

three

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three parts deſtroyed, had capitulated too precipitately on the 17th.

All Europe thought that the taking of this place had put an end to the great conteſt in North-America. They never imagined that a handful of Frenchmen, in want of every thing, who ſeemed to be in a deſperate condition, would dare to think of protracting their inevitable fate. They did not know what theſe people were capable of doing. They haſtily completed ſome intrenchments that had been begun ten leagues above Quebec. There they left troops ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy; and proceeded to Montreal, to concert meaſures to retrieve their diſgrace.

It was there agreed that in the ſpring they ſhould march with an armed force againſt Quebec, to retake it by ſurpriſe, or if that ſhould fail, to beſiege it in form. They had nothing in readineſs for that purpoſe, but the plan was ſo concerted, that they ſhould enter upon the undertaking juſt at the inſtant when the ſuccours expected from France muſt neceſſarily arrive.

Though the colony had long been in want of every thing, the preparations were already made, when the ice, which covered the whole river, began to give way towards the middle, and opened a ſmall canal. They dragged ſome boats over the ice, and put them into the water. The army, conſiſting of citizens and ſoldiers, who made but one body, and were animated with one ſoul, fell down this ſtream, with inconceivable ardour, as early as the 20th of April 1760. The Engliſh thought

thought they ſtill lay quiet in their winter quarters. The army, already landed, came up with an advanced guard of 1500 men, poſted three leagues from Quebec. This party was juſt upon the point of being cut to pieces, had it not been for one of thoſe unaccountable incidents, which no human prudence can foreſee.

A GUNNER, attempting to ſtep out of his boat, had fallen into the water. He caught hold of a flake of ice, climbed up upon it, and was carried down the ſtream. As he paſſed by Quebec, cloſe to the ſhore, he was ſeen by a centinel, who obſerving a man in diſtreſs, called out for help. The Engliſh flew to his aſſiſtance, and found him motionleſs. They knew him by his uniform to be a French ſoldier, and carried him to the governor's houſe, where by the help of ſpirituous liquors, they recalled him to life for a moment. He juſt recovered his ſpeech enough to tell them that an army of 10,000 French was at the gates, and expired. The governor immediately diſpatched orders to the advanced guard to retire within the walls with all expedition. Notwithſtanding their precipitate retreat, the French had time to attack their rear. A few moments later, they would have been defeated, and the city retaken.

THE aſſailants however marched on with an intrepidity which indicated that they expected every thing from their valour, and thought no more of a ſurpriſe. They were within a league of the town, when they were met by a body of 4000 men, who were ſent out to intercept them. The

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onſet was ſharp, and the reſiſtance obſtinate. The Engliſh were driven back within their walls, leaving 1800 of their braveſt men upon the ſpot, and their artillery in the enemy's hands.

The trenches were immediately opened before Quebec; but as the French had none but field-pieces, as no ſuccours came from France, and as a ſtrong Engliſh ſquadron was coming up the river, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege on the 16th of May, and to retreat from poſt to poſt till they arrived at Montreal. Theſe troops, which were not very numerous at firſt, were now exceedingly reduced by frequent ſkirmiſhes and continual fatigues, were in want both of proviſions and warlike ſtores, and found themſelves incloſed in an open place; being ſurrounded by three formidable armies, one of which was come down and another up the river, while the third had paſſed over lake Champlain. Theſe miſerable remains of a body of ſeven thouſand men, who had never been recruited, and had ſo much ſignalized themſelves with the help of a few militia and Indians, were at laſt forced to capitulate for the whole colony. The conqueſt was confirmed by the treaty of peace, when this country was added to the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh in North-America.

Hath the acquiſition of Canada been advantageous or prejudicial to England?

How confined are the views of politicks! The Engliſh conſidered this acquiſition as the ultimate period of their grandeur, and the French miniſtry were not more enlightened than the Britiſh council. On one hand every thing was thought to be won by this conqueſt; on the other every thing

thing was thought to be loſt by a ſacrifice which was to bring on the ruin of an irreconcileable enemy. Such is the neceſſary concatenation of the events which inceſſantly change the intereſts of empires, that it hath often happened, and will frequently happen hereafter, that the moſt profound ſpeculations, and the meaſures apparently the moſt prudent, have been, and will ſtill be erroneous. The advantage of the moment is the only thing conſidered, in circumſtances where nothing is ſo common as to ſee good ſpring from evil, and evil ariſe from good. If it be true of ſome individuals, that they have for a long time wiſhed for what has proved their misfortune; it is ſtill more true of ſovereigns. The caprices of fortune which are ſo apt to ſport with the prudence of man, are never taken into the calculation, and indeed there is no occaſion for it, when ſome unfortunate caſualty is concealed in a diſtant and obſcure futurity; when it is almoſt devoid of probability, and when ſuppoſing it ſhould happen total ruin will not be the conſequence. But the people will be governed by a mad miniſtry, when, without conſidering the tranquillity and the ſafety of the ſtate, they ſhall think of nothing but it's aggrandizement: when without conſidering whether a miſerable little iſland will not occaſion cares and expences which cannot be compenſated by any advantage, they will ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled with the frivolous glory of having added it to the national dominion: when by refuſing to make reſtitutions that were agreed upon, they ſhall cement between the uſurping

uſurping power and that which is injured, a hatred which will, ſooner or later, be followed by the effuſion of blood, upon the ſea and upon the continent: when, for the preſervation of a few places, it ſhall be neceſſary to keep a number of ſoldiers ſhut up, who will grow degenerate by a long continuance in idleneſs: when laſting jealouſies ſhall be excited, or pretenſions encouraged, which are ever ready to be renewed, and to engage two nations in war with each other: when it ſhall be forgotten, that a nation ſettled between one empire and another, is ſometimes the beſt barrier that can be interpoſed between them; and that it is imprudent and dangerous to acquire, by the extinction of the intermediate nation, an ambitious, turbulent, warlike, and powerful neighbour: when it ſhall be forgotten, that every domain, ſeparated from a ſtate by a vaſt interval, is precarious, expenſive, ill-defended, and ill-governed; that it would be, beyond any kind of doubt, a real misfortune for two nations to have any poſſeſſion on one ſide and on the other of a river which ſerves as their boundary: that to renounce a country claimed by ſeveral powers, is commonly to ſpare ſuperfluous expences, alarms and conteſts; and that to cede it to one of thoſe who were deſirous of obtaining it, is the only way to throw the ſame calamities upon them: in a word, when it ſhall be forgotten that a ſovereign, who is really a man of genius, will perhaps diſplay it leſs in availing himſelf of the real advantages

advantages of his country, than in giving up to rival nations deceitful advantages, the fatal conſequences of which they can only be ſenſible of in proceſs of time; this is a kind of ſnare, which the rage of extending their dominions will ever conceal from them.

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Engliſh Colonies ſettled at Hudſon's Bay, Canada, the Iſland of St. John, Newfoundland, Nova-Scotia, New-England, New-York, and New-Jerſey.

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First expeditions of the Engliſh in North America.

THE deſire of penetrating into futurity hath been the paſſion of all ages. The entrails of animals, and the blood of victims, hath appeared to ſome people an infallible mode of diſcovering the deſtiny of empires. Others have placed the ſcience of divination in dreams, which they have choſen to conſider as the moſt certain interpreters of the will of heaven. Whole nations have pretended to compel fate to reveal itſelf by the flight of birds, and other preſages equally frivolous. But, the conſulting of the ſtars hath been the moſt favourite of theſe modes of auguration. Men have thought, that in theſe they beheld, marked out in characters not to be effaced, the revolutions, more or leſs important, which were to agitate the globe. Theſe reveries had not ſubdued the minds of the vulgar only; they acquired an equal aſcendant over men of the firſt genius.

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SINCE ſound philoſophy hath deſtroyed theſe chimeras, mankind have ſplit upon another rock. A ſpirit of preſumption, too prevalent, hath induced men to believe, that nothing was more feaſible than to determine, by combinations ſettled without much difficulty, what was to happen in politics. Undoubtedly, it was poſſible for perſons of attention and reflection to foreſee ſome events; but how many miſtakes will not happen to one fortunate conjecture!

THE Britiſh iſlands have been drenched in blood. Numberleſs factions and ſects have deſtroyed each other there with a degree of obſtinacy, the fatal example of which hath rarely been diſplayed in the deplorable annals of the world. Who could have conjectured, that the proſperity of North America would have ariſen from ſo many calamities?

First expeditions of the Engliſh in North America.

ENGLAND was only know'n in America by her piracies, which were often ſucceſsful, and always bold, when Sir Walter Raleigh conceived the project to procure his nation a ſhare of the prodigious riches, which, for near a century paſt, had flowed from that hemiſphere into our's. This great man, who was born for bold undertakings, caſt his eye on the eaſtern coaſt of North America. The talent he had, of bringing men over to his opinion, by repreſenting all his propoſals in a ſtriking light, ſoon procured him aſſociates, both at court and among the merchants. The company that was formed in conſequence of his magnificent promiſes, obtained of government, in 1584, the abſolute diſpoſal of all the diſcoveries

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that ſhould be made; and without any further encouragement, they fitted out two ſhips in April following, that anchored in Roanoak bay, which now makes a part of Carolina. Their commanders, worthy of the truſt repoſed in them, behaved with remarkable affability in a country where they wanted to ſettle their nation, and left the ſavages at liberty to make their own terms in the trade they propoſed to open with them.

THE reports made by theſe ſucceſsful navigators on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the ſoil, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, encouraged the ſociety to proceed. They accordingly ſent ſeven ſhips the following ſpring, which landed a hundred and eight free men at Roanoak, for the purpoſe of commencing a ſettlement. Part of them were murdered by the ſavages, whom they had inſulted, and the reſt, having been ſo improvident as to neglect the culture of the land, were periſhing with miſery and hunger, when a deliverer came to their relief.

THIS was Sir Francis Drake, ſo famous among ſeamen for being the next after Magellan who ſailed round the globe. The abilities he had ſhew'n in that great expedition, induced Queen Elizabeth to make choice of him to humble Philip II. in that part of his extenſive dominions, where he uſed to diſturb the peace of other nations. Few orders were ever more punctually executed. The Engliſh fleet ſeized upon St. Jago, Carthagena, St. Domingo, and ſeveral other important places, and took a great many rich

rich ſhips. His inſtructions were, after theſe operations, to proceed and offer his aſſiſtance to the colony at Roanoak. The wretched few who ſurvived the numberleſs calamities that had befallen them, were in ſuch deſpair, that they refuſed all aſſiſtance, and only begged he would convey them to their native country. The admiral complied with their requeſt; and thus the expences that had been hitherto beſtowed on the ſettlement were entirely throw'n away.

The aſſociates were not diſcouraged by this unforeſeen event. From time to time they ſent over a few coloniſts, who, in the year 1589, amounted to a hundred and fifteen perſons of both ſexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted for their defence, and for the purpoſes of agriculture and commerce. Theſe beginnings raiſed ſome expectations, but they were fruſtrated by the diſgrace of Raleigh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having loſt it's founder, was totally forgotten.

It had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Goſnold, one of the firſt aſſociates, reſolved to viſit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him ſuſpect that the right track had not been found out, and that in ſteering by the Canary and Caribbee Iſlands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thouſand leagues. Theſe conjectures induced him to ſteer away from the ſouth, and to turn more weſtward. The attempt ſucceeded; but when he reached the American coaſt, he found himſelf

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further north than any navigators who had gone before. The country where he landed, which now makes a part of New-England, afforded him plenty of beautiful furs, with which he ſailed back to England.

The rapidity and ſucceſs of this undertaking made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the Engliſh merchants. Several of them joined in 1606 to form a ſettlement in the country that Goſnold had diſcovered. Their example revived in others the memory of the Roanoak; and this gave riſe to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to carry on their monopoly was then know'n in England only by the general name of Virginia, the one was called the South-Virginia, and the other the North-Virginia company.

The zeal that had been ſhew'n at firſt ſoon abated, and there appeared to be more jealouſy than emulation between the two companies. Though they had been favoured with the firſt lottery that ever was draw'n in England, their progreſs was ſo ſlow, that in 1614 there were not above four hundred perſons in both ſettlements. That ſort of competency which was anſwerable to the ſimplicity of the manners of the times, was then ſo general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad in queſt of a fortune. It is a ſenſe of misfortune that gives men a diſlike to their native country, ſtill more than the deſire of acquiring riches. Nothing leſs than ſome extraordinary commotion could then have ſent inhabitants even into an excellent country. This emigration was at length occaſioned by ſuperſtition, which

which had given riſe to commotions from the colliſion of religious opinions.

The continent of America is peopled in conſequence of the religious wars that diſturb England.

The firſt prieſts of the Britons were the Druids, ſo famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a myſterious veil upon the ceremonies of a ſavage worſhip, their rites were never performed but in dark receſſes, and generally in gloomy groves, where fear creates ſpectres and apparitions. Only a few perſons were initiated into theſe myſteries, and intruſted with the ſacred doctrines; and even theſe were not allowed to commit any thing to writing upon this important ſubject; leſt their ſecrets ſhould fall into the hands of the prophane vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity were ſtained with the blood of human victims, and enriched with the moſt precious ſpoils of war. Though the dread of the vengeance of heaven was the only guard of theſe treaſures, yet they were always deemed ſacred, becauſe the Druids had artfully repreſſed a thirſt after riches, by inculcating the fundamental doctrine of the endleſs tranſmigration of the ſoul. The chief authority of government was veſted in the miniſters of that terrible religion; becauſe men are more powerfully and more conſtantly ſwayed by opinion than by any other motive. They were intruſted with the education of youth, and they maintained through life the aſcendency they acquired in that early age. They took cognizance of all civil and criminal cauſes, and were as abſolute in their deciſions on ſtate affairs as on the private differences between individuals. Whoever dared to reſiſt their decrees, was not only excluded from

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all participation in the divine myſteries, but even from the ſociety of men. It was accounted a crime and a reproach to hold any intercourſe with him; he was irrevocably deprived of the protection of the laws, and nothing but death could put an end to his miſeries. The hiſtory of human ſuperſtitions affords no inſtance of any one ſo tyrannical as that of the Druids. It was the only one that provoked the Romans to uſe ſeverity; with ſo much violence did the Druids oppoſe the power of thoſe conquerors.

That religion, however, had loſt much of it's influence, when it was totally aboliſhed by Chriſtianity in the ſeventh century. The northern nations, that had ſucceſſively invaded the ſouthern provinces of Europe, had found there the ſeeds of that new religion, amidſt the ruins of an empire that was ſhaking on all ſides. Their indifference for their diſtant gods, or that credulity which is ever the companion of ignorance, induced them readily to embrace a form of worſhip which, from the multiplicity of it's ceremonies, could not but attract the notice of rude and ſavage men. The Saxons, who afterwards invaded England, followed their example, and adopted without difficulty a religion that juſtified their conqueſts, expiated the criminality of them, and inſured their permanency by aboliſhing the ancient forms of worſhip.

The effects were ſuch as might be expected from a religion, the original ſimplicity of which was at that time ſo much disfigured. Idle contemplations were ſoon ſubſtituted in lieu of active and

and ſocial virtues; and a ſtupid veneration for unknow'n ſaints, took place of the worſhip of the Supreme Being. Miracles dazzled the eyes of men, and diverted them from attending to natural cauſes. They were taught to believe that prayers and offerings would atone for the moſt heinous crimes. Every ſentiment of reaſon was perverted, and every principle of morality corrupted.

THOSE who had been the promoters of this confuſion, knew how to avail themſelves of it. The prieſts obtained that reſpect which was denied to kings; and their perſons became ſacred. The magiſtrate had no power of inſpecting into their conduct, and they even evaded the watchfulneſs of the civil law. Their tribunal eluded, and even ſuperſeded all others. They found means to introduce religion into every queſtion of law, and into all ſtate affairs, and made themſelves umpires or judges in every cauſe. When faith ſpoke, every one liſtened in ſilent attention to it's inexplicable oracles. Such was the infatuation of thoſe dark ages, that the ſcandalous exceſſes of the clergy did not diminiſh their authority.

THIS authority was maintained by the immenſe riches the clergy had already acquired. As ſoon as they had taught, that religion was preſerved principally by ſacrifices, and required firſt of all that of fortune and earthly poſſeſſions, the nobility, who were ſole proprietors of all eſtates, employed their ſlaves to build churches, and allotted their lands to the endowment of thoſe foundations. Kings gave to the church all that they had extorted from the people; and ſtripped themſelves

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ſelves to ſuch a degree, as even not to leave a ſufficiency for the payment of the army, or for defraying the other charges of government. Theſe deficiencies were never made up by thoſe who were the cauſe of them. They were not concerned in any of the public expences. The payment of taxes with the revenues of the church would have been a ſacrilege, and a proſtitution of holy things to profane purpoſes. Such was the declaration of the clergy, and the laity believed them. The poſſeſſion of the third part of the feudal tenures in the kingdom, the free-will offerings of a deluded people, and the large fees required for all prieſtly offices, did not ſatisfy the enormous avidity of the clergy, ever attentive to their own intereſt. They found in the Old Teſtament, that by divine appointment they had an undoubted right to the tithes of the produce of the land. This claim was ſo readily admitted, that they extended it to the tithe of induſtry, of the profits on trade, of the wages of labourers, of the pay of ſoldiers, and ſometimes of the ſalaries of placemen.

Rome, which at firſt was a ſilent ſpectator of theſe proceedings, and proudly enjoyed the ſucceſs that attended the rich and haughty miniſters of a Saviour born in obſcurity, and condemned to an ignominious death, ſoon coveted a ſhare in the ſpoils of England. The firſt ſtep ſhe took was to open a trade for relics, which were always uſhered in with ſome ſtriking miracle, and ſold in proportion to the credulity of the purchaſers. The great men, and even monarchs, were invited to go in pilgrimage

pilgrimage to the capital of the world, to purchaſe a place in heaven ſuitable to the rank they held on earth. The popes by degrees aſſumed the preſentation to church preferments, which at firſt they gave away, but afterwards ſold. By theſe means their tribunal took cognizance of all eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and in time they claimed a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, who themſelves levied the tenth of all the ſubſtance of the realm.

When theſe pious extortions were carried as far as they poſſibly could be in England, Rome aſpired to the ſupreme authority over it. Her ambitious deceit was covered with a ſacred veil. She ſapped the foundations of liberty, by employing the influence of opinion only. This was ſetting men at variance with themſelves, and availing herſelf of their prejudices, in order to acquire an abſolute dominion over them. She uſurped the power of a deſpotic arbitrator between the altar and the throne, between the prince and his ſubjects, between one potentate and another. She kindled the flames of war with her ſpiritual thunders. But ſhe wanted emiſſaries to ſpread the terror of her arms, and made choice of the monks for that purpoſe. The ſecular clergy, notwithſtanding their celibacy, which kept them from forming connections in the world, were ſtill attached to it by the ties of intereſt, often ſtronger than thoſe of blood. A ſet of men, ſecluded from ſociety by ſingular inſtitutions, which muſt incline them to fanaticiſm, and by a blind ſubmiſſion to the dictates of a foreign pontiff, were beſt adapted to ſecond the views of ſuch a ſovereign. Theſe vile

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vile and abject tools of ſuperſtition executed their fatal employment ſucceſsfully. By their intrigues, aſſiſted with the concurrence of favourable circumſtances, England, which had ſo long withſtood the conquering arms of the antient Roman empire, became tributary to modern Rome.

At length the paſſions and violent caprices of Henry VIII. broke the ſcandalous dependence. The abuſe of ſo infamous a power had already opened the eyes of the nation. This prince ventured at once to ſhake off the authority of the pope, aboliſh monaſteries, and aſſume the ſupremacy over his own church.

This open ſchiſm was followed by other alterations in the reign of Edward, ſon and ſucceſſor to Henry. The religious opinions, which were then changing the face of Europe, were openly diſcuſſed. Something was taken from every one; many doctrines and rites of the old form of worſhip were retained; and from theſe ſeveral ſyſtems or tenets aroſe a new communion, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Church of England.

Elizabeth, who completed this important work, found theory alone too ſubtle, and thought it moſt expedient to captivate the ſenſes, by the addition of ſome ceremonies. Her natural taſte for grandeur, and the deſire of putting a ſtop to the diſputes about points of doctrine, by entertaining the eye with the external parade of worſhip, inclined her to adopt a greater number of religious rites. But ſhe was reſtrained by political conſiderations, and was obliged to ſacrifice ſomething to the prejudices of a party that had raiſed

raiſed her to the throne, and was able to maintain her upon it.

FAR from ſuſpecting that James I. would execute what Elizabeth had not even dared to attempt, it might be expected that he would rather have been inclined to reſtrain eccleſiaſtical rites and ceremonies: that prince, having been trained up in the principles of the Preſbyterians, a ſect which, with much ſpiritual pride, affected great ſimplicity of dreſs, gravity of manners, and auſterity of doctrine, which loved to ſpeak in ſcripture phraſes, and gave none but ſcripture names to their children. One would have ſuppoſed that ſuch an education muſt have prejudiced the king againſt the outward pomp of the catholic worſhip, and every thing that bore any affinity to it. But the ſpirit of ſyſtem prevailed over the principles of education. Stricken with the epiſcopal juriſdiction which he found eſtabliſhed in England, and which he thought conformable to his own notions of civil government, he abandoned, from conviction, the early impreſſions he had received, and grew paſſionately fond of a hierarchy modelled upon the political œconomy of a well-conſtituted empire. Inſtigated by his enthuſiaſm, he wanted to introduce this wonderful ſyſtem into Scotland, his native country, and to engage a great many of the Engliſh, who ſtill diſſented, to embrace it. He even intended to add the pomp of the moſt awful ceremonies to the majeſtic plan, if he could have carried his grand projects into execution. But the oppoſition he met with at firſt ſetting out,

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would not permit him to advance any further in his ſyſtem of reformation. He contented himſelf with recommending to his ſon to reſume his views, whenever the times ſhould furniſh a favourable opportunity; and repreſented the Preſbyterians to him as alike dangerous to religion and to the throne.

CHARLES readily followed his advice, which was but too conformable to the principles of deſpotiſm he had imbibed from Buckingham his favourite, the moſt corrupt of men, and the corrupter of the courtiers. To pave the way to the revolution he was meditating, he promoted ſeveral biſhops to the higheſt dignities in the government, and conferred on them moſt of the offices that imparted a great ſhare of influence in all public meaſures. Theſe ambitious prelates, now become the maſters of a prince who had been weak enough to be guided by the inſtigations of others, betrayed that ſpirit ſo frequent among the clergy, of exalting eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction under the ſhadow of the royal prerogative. They multiplied the church ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apoſtolical inſtitution; and to enforce their obſervance, had recourſe to acts of arbitrary power exerciſed by the king. It was evident that there was a ſettled deſign of reſtoring, in all it's ſplendour, what the Proteſtants called Romiſh idolatry, though the moſt violent means ſhould be neceſſary to compaſs it. This project gave the more umbrage, as it was ſupported by the prejudices and intrigues of a preſumptuous

ſumptuous Queen, who had brought from France an immoderate paſſion for popery and arbitrary power.

It can ſcarcely be imagined what acrimony theſe alarming ſuſpicions had raiſed in the minds of the people. Common prudence would have allowed time for the ferment to ſubſide. But the ſpirit of fanaticiſm endeavoured, even in theſe troubleſome times, to reſtore every thing to the unity of the church of England, which was become more odious to the diſſenters, ſince ſo many cuſtoms had been introduced into it which they conſidered as ſuperſtitious. An order was iſſued, that both kingdoms ſhould conform to the worſhip and diſcipline of the epiſcopal church. This law included the Preſbyterians, who then began to be called Puritans, becauſe they profeſſed to take the pure and ſimple word of God for the rule of their faith and practice. It was extended likewiſe to all the foreign Calviniſts that were in the kingdom, whatever difference there might be in their opinions. This hierarchal worſhip was enjoined to the regiments, and trading companies diſperſed in the ſeveral countries of Europe. The Engliſh ambaſſadors were alſo required to ſeparate from all communion with the foreign Proteſtants, ſo that England loſt all the influence ſhe had acquired abroad, as the head and ſupport of the Reformation.

In this fatal criſis, moſt of the Puritans were divided between ſubmiſſion and oppoſition. Thoſe who would neither ſtoop to yield, nor take the pains to reſiſt, turned their views towards North-

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America, in ſearch of that civil and religious liberty which their ungrateful country denied them. Their enemies, in order to have an opportunity of perſecuting them more at leiſure, attempted to preclude theſe devout fugitives from this aſylum, where they wanted to worſhip God in their own way in a deſert land. Eight ſhips that lay at anchor in the Thames, ready to ſail, were ſtopped; and Cromwell is ſaid to have been detained there by that very king, whom he afterwards brought to the ſcaffold. Enthuſiaſm, however, ſtronger than the rage of perſecution, ſurmounted every obſtacle; and that part of America was ſoon filled with Preſbyterians. The ſatisfaction they enjoyed in their retreat, gradually induced all thoſe of their party to follow them, who were not ſo evil-minded as to delight in the view of thoſe dreadful ſcenes, which ſoon after made England a ſcene of blood and horror. Many were afterwards induced to remove thither in more peaceable times, with a view of advancing their fortunes. In a word, all Europe contributed greatly to increaſe their population. Thouſands of unhappy men, oppreſſed by the tyranny or intolerant ſpirit of their ſovereigns, took refuge in that hemiſphere; concerning which we ſhall now purſue our inquiries, and endeavour, before we quit the ſpot, to gain ſome information reſpecting it.

Parallel between the Old and the New World.

It is ſurpriſing that ſo little ſhould have been know'n of the New World, for ſo long a time after it was diſcovered. Barbarous ſoldiers and rapacious merchants were not proper perſons to give us juſt and clear notions of this hemiſphere.

It

It was the province of philoſophy alone to avail itſelf of the informations ſcattered in the accounts of voyages and miſſionaries, in order to ſee America ſuch as nature hath made it, and to find out it's analogy to the reſt of the globe.

It is now pretty certain that the new continent has not half the extent of ſurface that the old has. At the ſame time, the form of both is ſo ſingularly alike, that we might eaſily be inclined to draw conſequences from this particular, if it were not always neceſſary to be upon our guard againſt the ſpirit of ſyſtem which often ſtops us in our reſearches after truth, and hinders us from attaining it.

The two continents ſeem to form, as it were, two broad tracks of land that begin from the Arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, divided on the Eaſt and Weſt by the ocean that ſurrounds them. Whatever may be the ſtructure of theſe two continents, and the quality or ſymmetry of their form, it is evident that their equilibrium does not depend upon their poſition. It is the inconſtancy of the ſea that conſtitutes the ſolid form of the earth. To fix the globe upon it's baſis, it ſeemed neceſſary to have an element which, floating inceſſantly round our planet, might by it's weight counterbalance all other ſubſtances, and by it's fluidity reſtore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have diſturbed. Water, by it's natural fluctuation and weight, is the moſt proper element to preſerve the connection and balance of the ſeveral parts of the globe round it's center.

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If our hemiſphere has a very wide extent of continent to the North, a maſs of water of equal weight at the oppoſite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals; under the ſame latitude America will have a ſea filled with fiſh. While foreſts full of trees, bending with the largeſt fruits, quadrupeds of the greateſt ſize, the moſt populous nations, elephants and men, are a load upon the ſurface of the earth, and ſeem to abſorb all it's fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles are found whales, with innumerable multitudes of cods and herrings, clouds of inſects, and all the infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the ſeas, as it were, to ſupport the axis of the earth, and prevent it's inclining or deviating to either ſide: if, indeed, elephants, whales, or men, can be ſaid to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a tranſient modification of the earth that compoſes it. In a word, the ocean rolls over this globe to faſhion it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers a hemiſphere, a pole, or a zone, which at other times it leaves bare; but in general it ſeems to affect the equator, more eſpecially as the cold of the poles in ſome meaſure contracts that fluidity which is eſſential to it, and from which it receives all it's power of motion. It is chiefly between the tropics that the ſea extends itſelf and is agitated, and that it undergoes the greateſt change, both in it's regular and periodical motions, as well as in thoſe violent agitations occaſionally

occaſionally excited in it by tempeſtuous winds. The attraction of the ſun, and the fermentations occaſioned by it's continual heat in the torrid zone, muſt have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence, and the ſea, to conform itſelf to this double impulſe, muſt, it would ſeem, flow towards the equator. Nothing but the flatneſs of the globe at the poles can poſſibly account for that immenſe extent of water, that has hitherto concealed from us the lands near the South pole. The ſea cannot eaſily paſs the boundaries of the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones be not nearer to the center of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the ſea therefore that maintains an equilibrium with the land, and diſpoſes the arrangement of the materials that compoſe it. One proof that the analogous portions of land, which the two continents of the globe preſent at firſt view, are not eſſentially neceſſary to it's conformation, is, that the New Hemiſphere has remained covered with the waters of the ſea, a much longer time than the Old. Beſides, if there be an evident ſimilarity between the two hemiſpheres, there are alſo differences between them, which will perhaps deſtroy that harmony we think we obſerve.

When we conſider the map of the world, and ſee the local correſpondence between the iſthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the Eaſt Indies and that of the Caribbee Iſlands, and between the mountains of Chili and

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thoſe of Monomotapa; we are ſtricken with the ſimilarity of the ſeveral forms this picture preſents. Land ſeems on all ſides to be oppoſed to land, water to water, iſlands and peninſulas ſcattered by the hand of nature to ſerve as a counterpoiſe, and the ſea, by it's fluctuation, conſtantly maintaining the balance of the whole. But if on the other hand we compare the great extent of the Pacific Ocean, which ſeparates the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, with the ſmall ſpace which the ocean occupies between the coaſt of Guinea and that of Brazil; the vaſt quantity of inhabited land to the North, with the little we know towards the South; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from Eaſt to Weſt, with that of the Cordeleras which run from North to South; the mind is in ſuſpenſe, and we have the mortification to ſee the order and ſymmetry vaniſh, with which we had embelliſhed our ſyſtem of the earth. The obſerver is ſtill more diſpleaſed with his conjectures, when he conſiders the immenſe height of the mountains of Peru. He is then aſtoniſhed to ſee a continent ſo recent, and yet ſo elevated, the ſea ſo much below the tops of theſe mountains, and yet ſo recently come down from the lands that ſeemed to be effectually defended from it's attacks by thoſe tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the New Hemiſphere have been covered with the ſea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

The rivers, which in America are wider and of greater extent; the immenſe foreſts to the South; the ſpacious lakes and vaſt moraſſes to the North;

North; the almoſt eternal ſnows between the tropics; few of thoſe pure ſands that ſeem to be the remains of an exhauſted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line; a cool and mild air in the ſame latitude as the ſultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and ſevere climate under the ſame parallel as our temperate climates; and laſtly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees, in the temperature of the Old and New Hemiſpheres; theſe are ſo many tokens of a world that is ſtill in it's infancy.

Why ſhould the continent of America be much warmer and much colder in proportion than that of Europe, if it were not for the moiſture the ocean has left behind, in quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the ſea can poſſibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Aſia. If the waters that ſtill moiſten the bowels of the earth in the New Hemiſphere had not covered it's ſurface, the woods would very eaſily have been cut down, the fens drained, a ſoft and watery ſoil would have been made firm, by ſtirring it up, and expoſing it to the rays of the ſun; a free paſſage would have been open to the winds, and dikes would have been raiſed along the rivers; in a word, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemiſphere denotes a recent world; when the ſea, about it's coaſts, ſtill flows obſcurely in it's channels. A leſs ſcorching ſun, more plentiful rains, and thicker vapours, more diſpoſed to ſtagnate, are

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evident marks of the decay or the infancy of nature.

THE difference of climate, arising from the waters having lain so long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals. From this diversity of causes must necessarily arise a very great diversity of effects. Accordingly, we see more species of animals, by two-thirds, in the old continent than the new; animals of the same kind considerably larger; monsters that are become more savage and fierce, as the countries have become more inhabited. On the other hand, nature seems to have strangely neglected the New World. The men have less strength and less courage; no beard and no hair; they have less appearances of manhood; and are but little susceptible of the lively and powerful sentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the first instinct, the first band of society, without which all other artificial ties have neither energy nor duration. The women, who are still more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and consider them merely as subservient to their will: they rather sacrifice them to their indolence, than consecrate them to their pleasures. This indolence is the great delight and supreme felicity of the Americans, of which the women are the victims, from the continual labours imposed upon them. It must, however, be confessed, that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have sentenced the women to work, have been so equitable as to take

take upon themſelves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fiſhing. But their indifference for the ſex, which nature has intruſted with the care of multiplying the ſpecies, implies an imperfection in their organs, a ſort of ſtate of childhood in the people of America, ſimilar to that of the people in our continent, who are not yet arrived to the age of puberty. This ſeems to be a natural defect prevailing in the continent of America, which is an indication of it's being a new country.

But if the Americans be a new people, are they a race of men originally diſtinct from thoſe who cover the face of the Old World? This is a queſtion which ought not to be too haſtily decided. The origin of the population of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we aſſert that the Greenlanders firſt came from Norway, and then went over to the coaſt of Labrador; others will tell us, it is more natural to ſuppoſe that the Greenlanders are ſprung from the Eſquimaux, to whom they bear a greater reſemblance than to the Europeans. If we ſhould ſuppoſe that California was peopled from Kamtſchatka, it may be aſked, what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-weſt of America? Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or from Kamtſchatka that the inhabitants of the Old World muſt have gone over to the New, as it is by thoſe two countries that the two continents are connected, or at leaſt approach neareſt to one another. Beſides, how

can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed ſpread from North to South, but it muſt naturally have begun under the equator, where life is cheriſhed by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we muſt have recourſe to the flood, which is the ſource and the ſolution of all difficulties in the hiſtory of nations.

Let us ſuppoſe that the ſea having overflowed the other hemiſphere, it's old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordeleras, which are far higher than our Mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon thoſe heights, covered with ſnow, and ſurrounded with waters? How is it poſſible, that men, who had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have ſurvived the miſeries of want, the inclemency of a tainted atmoſphere, and thoſe numberleſs calamities, which muſt be the unavoidable conſequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preſerved and propagated in thoſe times of general calamity, and in the miſerable ages that muſt have ſucceeded? Notwithſtanding all theſe objections, we muſt allow that America has been peopled from theſe wretched remains of the great devaſtation. Every thing exhibits the veſtiges of a malady, of which the human race ſtill feels the effects. The ruin of that world is ſtill imprinted on it's inhabitants. Thev are a ſpecies of men degraded and degenerated

rated in their natural conſtitution, in their ſtature, in their way of life, and in their underſtanding, which is but little advanced in all the arts of civilization. A damper air, and a more marſhy ground, muſt neceſſarily have infected the firſt principles of the ſubſiſtence and increaſe of mankind. It muſt have required ſome ages to reſtore population, and ſtill a greater number before the ground could be ſettled and dried, ſo as to be fit for tillage, and for the foundation of buildings. The air muſt neceſſarily be purified before the ſky could clear, and the ſky muſt neceſſarily be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection therefore of nature in America is not ſo much a proof of it's recent origin, as of it's regeneration. It was probably peopled at the ſame time as the other hemiſphere, but may have been overflowed later. The large foſſil bones that are found under ground in America, ſhew that it had formerly elephants, rhinoceros, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have ſince diſappeared in thoſe regions. The gold and ſilver mines that are found juſt below the ſurface of the earth, are ſigns of a very ancient revolution of the globe, but later than thoſe that have overturned our hemiſphere.

Suppose America had, by ſome means or other, been repeopled by our roving hordes, that period would have been ſo remote, that it would ſtill give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemiſphere. Three or four centuries will not then be ſufficient to allow for the foundation of the empire of Mexico and Peru; for though we find no

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trace in these countries of our arts, or of the opinions and customs that prevail in other parts of the globe, yet we have found a police and a society established, inventions and practices which, though they did not shew any marks of times anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long series of ages subsequent to this catastrophe. For, though in Mexico, as in Egypt, a country surrounded with waters, mountains, and other invincible obstacles, must have forced the men inclosed in it to unite after a time, notwithstanding they might at first have destroyed each other in continual and bloody wars; yet it was only in process of time that they could invent and establish a form of worship and a legislation, which they could not possibly have borrowed from remote times or countries. It required a greater number of ages to render familiar the single art of speech, and that of writing, though but in hieroglyphics, to a whole nation unconnected with any other, and which must itself have created both these arts, than it would take up days to perfect a child in them. Ages bear not the same proportion to the whole race, as years do to individuals. The whole race is to occupy a vast field, both as to space and duration, while the individuals have only some moments or instants of time to fill up, or rather to run over. The likeness or uniformity observable in the features and manners of the American nations, plainly shew that they are not so ancient as those of our continent which differ so much from each other; but at the same time this circumstance seems to confirm that they

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did not proceed from any foreign hemiſphere, with which they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an immediate deſcent.

Comparison between civilized people and ſavages.

WHATEVER may be the caſe with regard to their origin or their antiquity, which are both uncertain, it is perhaps more intereſting to inquire whether thoſe untutored nations are more or leſs happy than our civilized people. Let us, therefore, examine whether the condition of rude man left to mere animal inſtinct, who paſſes every day of his life in hunting, feeding, producing his ſpecies, and repoſing himſelf, is better or worſe than the condition of that wonderful being, who makes his bed of down, ſpins and weaves the thread of the ſilk-worm to clothe himſelf, hath exchanged the cave, his original abode, for a palace, and hath varied his indulgences and his wants in a thouſand different ways.

IT is in the nature of man that we muſt look for his means of happineſs. What does he want to be as happy as he can be? Preſent ſubſiſtence; and, if he ſhould think of futurity, the hopes and certainty of enjoying that bleſſing. The ſavage, who has not been driven into and confined within the frigid zones by civilized ſocieties, is not in want of this firſt of neceſſaries. If he ſhould lay in no ſtores, it is becauſe the earth and the ſea are reſervoirs always open to ſupply his wants. Fiſh and game are to be had all the year, and will ſupply the want of fertility in the dead ſeaſons. The ſavage has no houſe, well ſecured from the acceſs of the external air, or commodious fire-places; but his furs anſwer all the purpoſes of the roof, the garment

ment and the ſtove. He works but for his own benefit, ſleeps when he is weary, and is a ſtranger to watchings and reſtleſs nights. War is a matter of choice to him. Danger, like labour, is a condition of his nature, not a profeſſion annexed to his birth; a national duty, not a domeſtic ſervitude. The ſavage is ſerious but not melancholy; and his countenance ſeldom bears the impreſſion of thoſe paſſions and diſorders that leave ſuch ſhocking and fatal marks on our's. He cannot feel the want of what he does not deſire, nor can he deſire what he is ignorant of. Moſt of the conveniencies of life are remedies for evils he does not feel. Pleaſure is the mode of ſatisfying appetites which his ſenſes are unacquainted with. He ſeldom experiences any of that wearineſs that ariſes from unſatisfied deſires, or that emptineſs and uneaſineſs of mind that is the offspring of prejudice and vanity. In a word, the ſavage is ſubject to none but natural evils.

But what greater happineſs than this does the civilized man enjoy? His food is more wholeſome and delicate than that of the ſavage. He has ſofter clothes, and a habitation better ſecured againſt the inclemencies of the weather. But the common people, who are to be the ſupport and baſis of civil ſociety, thoſe numbers of men who in all ſtates bear the burden of hard labour, cannot be ſaid to live happy, either in thoſe empires where the conſequences of war and the imperfection of the police have reduced them to a ſtate of ſlavery, or in thoſe governments where the progreſs of luxury and police has reduced them to a

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ſtate of ſervitude. The mixed governments ſeem to preſent ſome proſpects of happineſs under the protection of liberty; but this happineſs is purchaſed by the moſt ſanguinary exertions, which repel tyranny for a time only, that it may fall the heavier upon the devoted nation, ſooner or later doomed to oppreſſion. Obſerve how Caligula and Nero revenged the expulſion of the Tarquins, and the death of Cæſar.

TYRANNY, we are told, is the work of the people, and not of kings. But if ſo, why do they ſuffer it? Why do they not repel the incroachments of deſpotiſm; and while it employs violence and artifice to enſlave all the faculties of men, why do they not oppoſe it with all their powers? But is it lawful to murmur and complain under the rod of the oppreſſor? Will it not exaſperate and provoke him to purſue the victim to death? The complaints of ſlaves he calls rebellion, and they are to be ſtifled in a dungeon, and ſometimes put an end to on a ſcaffold. The man who ſhould aſſert the rights of man would periſh in neglect and infamy. Tyranny, therefore, muſt be endured, under the name of authority.

IF ſo, to what outrages is not the civilized man expoſed! If he be poſſeſſed of any property, he knows not how far he may call it his own, when he muſt divide the produce between the courtier who may attack his eſtate, the lawyer who muſt be paid for teaching him how to preſerve it, the ſoldier who may lay it waſte, and the collector who comes to levy unlimited taxes.

If

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If he ſhould have no property, how can he be aſſured of a permanent ſubſiſtence? What ſpecies of induſtry is ſecured againſt the viciſſitudes of fortune, and the incroachments of government?

In the foreſts of America, if there be a ſcarcity in the north, the ſavages bend their courſe to the ſouth. The wind or the ſun will drive a wandering clan to more temperate climates. But if in our civilized ſtates, confined within gates, and reſtrained within certain limits, famine, war, or peſtilence ſhould conſume an empire, it is a priſon where all muſt expect to periſh in miſery, or in the horrors of ſlaughter. The man who is unfortunately born there, is compelled to endure all extortions, all the ſeverities that the inclemency of the ſeaſons and the injuſtice of government may bring upon him.

In our provinces, the vaſſal, or free mercenary, digs and ploughs, the whole year round, lands that are not his own, and the produce of which does not belong to him, and he is even happy, if his labour can procure him a ſhare of the crops he has ſow'n and reaped. Obſerved and haraſſed by a hard and reſtleſs landlord, who grudges him even the ſtraw on which he reſts his weary limbs, the wretch is daily expoſed to diſeaſes, which, joined to his poverty, make him wiſh for death, rather than for an expenſive cure, followed by infirmities and toil. Whether tenant or ſubject, he is doubly a ſlave; if he ſhould poſſeſs a few acres, his lord comes and gathers upon them what he has not ſow'n; if he be worth

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but a yoke of oxen or a pair of horſes, he muſt employ them in the public ſervice; if he ſhould have nothing but his perſon, the prince takes him for a ſoldier. Every where he meets with maſters, and always with oppreſſion.

In our cities, the workmen and the artiſt who have no manufacture of their own are at the mercy of greedy and idle maſters, who, by the privilege of monoply, have purchaſed of government a power of making induſtry work for nothing, and of ſelling it's labours at a very high price. The lower claſs have no more than the ſight of that luxury of which they are doubly the victims, by the watchings and fatigues it occaſions them, and by the inſolence of the pomp that humiliates and oppreſſes them.

Even ſuppoſing that the dangerous labours of our quarries, mines, and forges, with all the arts that are performed by fire, and that the perils which navigation and commerce expoſe us to, were leſs pernicious than the roving life of the ſavages, who live upon hunting and fiſhing; ſuppoſe that men, who are ever lamenting the ſorrows and affronts that ariſe merely from opinion, are leſs unhappy than the ſavages, who never ſhed a tear in the moſt excruciating tortures; there would ſtill remain a wide difference between the fate of the civilized man and the wild Indian, a difference entirely to the diſadvantage of ſocial life. This is the injuſtice that prevails in the partial diſtribution of fortunes and ſtations; an inequality which is at once the effect and the cauſe of oppreſſion.

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In vain does cuſtom, prejudice, ignorance, and hard labour ſtupify the lower claſs of mankind, ſo as to render them inſenſible of their degradation; neither religion nor morality can hinder them from ſeeing and feeling the injuſtice of the arrangements of policy in the diſtribution of good and evil. How often have we hear'd the poor man expoſtulating with heaven, and aſking what he had done, that he ſhould deſerve to be born in an indigent and dependent ſtation? Even if great conflicts were inſeparable from the more exalted ſtations, which might be ſufficient to balance all the advantages and all the ſuperiority that the ſocial ſtate claims over the ſtate of nature, ſtill the obſcure man, who is unacquainted with thoſe conflicts, ſees nothing in a high rank, but that affluence which is the cauſe of his own poverty. He envies the rich man thoſe pleaſures to which he is ſo accuſtomed, that he has loſt all reliſh for them. What domeſtic can have a real affection for his maſter, or what is the attachment of a ſervant? Was ever prince truly beloved by his courtiers, even when he was hated by his ſubjects? If we prefer our condition to that of the ſavages, it is becauſe civil life has made us incapable of bearing ſome natural hardſhips which the ſavage is more expoſed to than we are, and becauſe we are attached to ſome indulgences that cuſtom has made neceſſary to us. Even in the vigour of life, a civilized man may accuſtom himſelf to live among ſavages, and return to the ſtate of nature. We have an inſtance of this in that Scotchman who was caſt away on the iſland of Fernandez,

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where he lived alone, and was happy as ſoon as he was ſo taken up with ſupplying his wants, as to forget his own country, his language, his name, and even the articulation of words. After four years, he felt himſelf eaſed of the burthen of ſocial life, when he had loſt all reflection or thought of the paſt, and all anxiety for the future.

Lastly, the conſciouſneſs of independence being one of the firſt inſtincts in man, he who enjoys this primitive right, with a moral certainty of a competent ſubſiſtence, is incomparably happier than the rich man, reſtrained by laws, maſters, prejudices and faſhions, which inceſſantly remind him of the loſs of his liberty. To compare the ſtate of the ſavages to that of children, is to decide at once the queſtion that has been ſo warmly debated by philoſophers, concerning the advantages of the ſtate of nature above thoſe of ſocial life. Children, notwithſtanding the reſtraints of education, are in the happieſt age of human life. Their habitual cheerfulneſs, when they are not under the ſchoolmaſter's rod, is the ſureſt indication of the happineſs they feel. After all, a ſingle word may determine this great queſtion. Let us aſk the civilized man whether he be happy: and the ſavage whether he be unhappy. If they both anſwer in the negative, the diſpute is at an end.

Ye civilized nations, this parallel muſt certainly be mortifying to you! but you cannot too ſtrongly feel the weight of the calamities under which you are oppreſſed. The more painful this

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ſenſation is, the more will it awaken your attention to the true cauſes of your ſufferings. You may at laſt be convinced that they proceed from the confuſion of your opinions, from the defects of your political conſtitutions, and from capricious laws, which are in continual oppoſition to the laws of nature.

AFTER this inquiry into the moral ſtate of the Americans, let us return to the natural ſtate of their country. Let us ſee what it was before the arrival of the Engliſh, and what it is become under their dominion.

The ſtate in which the Engliſh found North America, and what they have done there.

THE firſt Engliſhmen who went over to America to ſettle colonies, found immenſe foreſts. The vaſt trees that grew up to the clouds, were ſo ſurrounded with creeping plants, that they could not be approached. The wild beaſts made theſe woods ſtill more inacceſſible. A few ſavages only were met with, clothed with the ſkins of thoſe monſters. The human race, thinly ſcattered, fled from each other, or purſued only with intent to deſtroy. The earth ſeemed uſeleſs to man, and it's powers were not exerted ſo much for his ſupport, as in the breeding of animals, more obedient to the laws of nature. It produced ſpontaneouſly without aſſiſtance and without direction; it yielded all it's bounties with uncontrouled profuſion for the benefit of all, not for the pleaſures or conveniences of one ſpecies of beings. The rivers in one place glided freely through the foreſts, in another, ſcattered their unruffled waters in a wide moraſs, from whence iſſuing in various ſtreams they formed a multitude of iſlands, encompaſſed

compaſſed with their channels. Spring was renewed from the decay of autumn. The withered leaves rotting at the foot of the trees, ſupplied them with freſh ſap to enable them to ſhoot out new bloſſoms. The hollow trunks of trees afforded a retreat to prodigious numbers of birds. The ſea, daſhing againſt the coaſts, and indenting the gulphs, threw up ſhoals of amphibious monſters, enormous whales, crabs and turtles, that ſported uncontrouled on the deſert ſhores. There nature exerted her plaſtic power, inceſſantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean, and aſſerting the freedom of the earth and the ſea.

But man appeared, and immediately changed the face of North-America. He introduced ſymmetry by the aſſiſtance of all the inſtruments of art. The impenetrable woods were inſtantly cleared, and made room for commodious dwellings. The wild beaſts were driven away, and flocks of domeſtic animals ſupplied their place; while thorns and briars made way for rich harveſts. The waters forſook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the ſea by deep canals. The coaſts were covered with towns, and the bays with ſhips; and thus the new world, like the old, became ſubject to man. What powerful engines have raiſed that wonderful ſtructure of European induſtry and policy? Let us reſume the conſideration of the particulars. In the remoteſt part ſtands a ſolitary ſpot, diſtinct from the whole, and which is called Hudſon's Bay.

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Climate of Hudſon's Bay, and cuſtoms of it's inhabitants. Trade carried on there.

THIS ſtreight, of about ten degrees in depth, is formed by the ocean in the diſtant and northern parts of America. The breadth of the entrance is ſix leagues, but it is only to be attempted from the beginning of July to the end of September, and is even then rather dangerous. This danger ariſes from mountains of ice, ſome of which are ſaid to be from 15 to 18 hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or ſix years duration in little gulphs conſtantly filled with ſnow, are forced out of them by north-weſt winds, or by ſome other extraordinary cauſe. The beſt way of avoiding them is to keep as near as poſſible to the northern coaſt, which muſt neceſſarily be leſs obſtructed and moſt free by the natural direction of both winds and currents.

THE north-weſt wind, which blows almoſt conſtantly in winter, and very often in ſummer, frequently raiſes violent ſtorms within the bay itſelf, which is rendered ſtill more dangerous by the number of ſhoals that are found there. Happily, however, ſmall groups of iſlands are met with at different diſtances, which are of a ſufficient height to afford a ſhelter from the ſtorm. Beſide theſe ſmall Archipelagoes, there are in many places large piles of bare rock. Except the Alga Marina, the bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern ſeas.

THROUGHOUT all the countries ſurrounding this bay, the ſun never riſes or ſets without forming a great cone of light; this phænomenon is ſucceeded by the Aurora Borealis, which tinges the hemiſphere

hemiſphere with coloured rays of ſuch brilliancy, that the ſplendour of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithſtanding this there is ſeldom a bright ſky. In ſpring and autumn, the air is always filled with thick fogs, and in winter, with an infinite number of ſmall icicles. Though the heats in the ſummer be rather conſiderable for ſix weeks or two months, there is ſeldom any thunder or lightning, owen, no doubt, to the great diſperſion of the ſulphureous exhalations, which, however, are ſometimes ſet on fire by the Aurora Borealis; and this light flame conſumes the barks of the trees, but leaves their trunks untouched.

One of the effects of the extreme cold or ſnow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning thoſe animals white in winter, which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has beſtowed upon them all, ſoft, long, and thick furs, the hair of which falls off as the weather grows milder. In moſt of theſe quadrupeds, the feet, the tail, the ears, and generally ſpeaking all thoſe parts in which the circulation is ſlower, becauſe they are the moſt remote from the heart, are extremely ſhort. Wherever they happen to be ſomething longer, they are proportionably well covered. Under this gloomy ſky, all liquors become ſolid by freezing, and break the veſſels they are in. Even ſpirit of wine loſes it's fluidity. It is not uncommon to ſee fragments of large rocks looſened and detached from the great maſs, by the force of the froſt. All theſe phænomena, common enough during the whole winter, are much more terrible at the

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new and full moon, which in theſe regions has an influence upon the weather, the cauſes of which are not know'n.

In this frozen zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a ſubſtance reſembling ſea-coal, have been diſcovered. In other reſpects, the ſoil is extremely barren. Except the coaſts, which are for the moſt part marſhy, and produce a little graſs and ſome ſoft wood; the reſt of the country affords nothing but very high moſs, and a few weak ſhrubs very thinly ſcattered.

This deficiency in nature extends itſelf to every thing. The human race are few in number, and there are ſcarce any perſons above four feet high. Their heads bear the ſame enormous proportion to the reſt of their bodies, as thoſe of children do. The ſmallneſs of their feet makes them awkward and tottering in their gait. Small hands and a round mouth, which in Europe are reckoned a beauty, ſeem almoſt a deformity in theſe people, becauſe we ſee nothing here but the effects of a weak organization, and of a cold climate, that contracts and reſtrains the principles of growth, and is fatal to the progreſs of animal as well as of vegetable life. All the men, even the youngeſt of them, though they have neither hair nor beard, have the appearance of being old. This is partly occaſioned from the formation of their lower lip, which is thick, fleſhy, and projecting beyond the upper. Such are the Eſquimaux, who inhabit not only the coaſt of Labrador, from whence they have taken their name, but likewiſe all that track

of country which extends from the point of Belle-isle to the moſt northern parts of America.

The inhabitants of Hudſon's Bay have, like the Greenlanders, a flat face, with ſhort but not flattened noſes, the pupil yellow, and the iris black. Their women have marks of deformity peculiar to their ſex, among others very long and flabby breaſts. This defect, which is not natural, ariſes from their cuſtom of giving ſuck to their children till they are five or ſix years old. As they often carry them at their backs, the children pull their mother's breaſts forcibly, and almoſt ſupport themſelves by them.

It is not true that there are hords of the Eſquimaux entirely black, as has been ſuppoſed, and then accounted for; nor that they live under ground. How ſhould they dig into a ſoil, which the cold renders harder than ſtone? How is it poſſible they ſhould live in caverns where they would be infallibly drowned by the firſt melting of the ſnows?

It is, however, certain, that they ſpend the winter under huts haſtily built with flints joined together with cements of ice, where they live without any other fire but that of a lamp hung in the middle of the ſhed, for the purpoſe of dreſſing their game and the fiſh they feed upon. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour ariſing from this ſmall flame, is ſufficient to make their huts as hot as ſtoves.

The Eſquimaux dwell conſtantly in the neighbourhood of the ſea, which ſupplies them with all their proviſions. Both their conſtitution and com-

plexion partake of the quality of their aliment. The fleſh of the ſeal is their food, and the oil of the whale is their drink, which produces in them all an olive complexion, a ſtrong ſmell of fiſh, an oily and tenacious ſweat, and ſometimes a ſort of ſcaly leproſy. This is, probably, the reaſon why the mothers have the ſame cuſtom as the bears, of licking their young ones.

These people, weak and degraded by nature, are notwithſtanding moſt intrepid upon a ſea that is conſtantly dangerous. In boats made and ſowed together like ſo many Borachios, but at the ſame time ſo well cloſed, that it is impoſſible for the water to penetrate them, they follow the ſhoals of herrings through the whole of their polar emigrations, and attack the whales and ſeals at the peril of their lives. One ſtroke of the whale's tail is ſufficient to drown a hundred of them, and the ſeal is armed with teeth to devour thoſe he cannot drown; but the hunger of the Eſquimaux is ſuperior to the rage of theſe monſters. They have an inordinate deſire for the whale's oil, which is neceſſary to preſerve the heat in their ſtomachs, and defend them from the ſeverity of the cold. Indeed, whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fiſh of the north are ſupplied by nature with a quantity of fat which prevents the muſcles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating. Every thing in theſe arctic regions is either oily or gummy, and even the trees are reſinous.

The Eſquimaux are, notwithſtanding, ſubject to two fatal diſorders, the ſcurvy and the loſs of ſight. The continuation of the ſnows on the ground,

ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the ſun on the ice, dazzle their eyes in ſuch a manner, that they are almoſt conſtantly obliged to wear ſhades made of very thin wood, through which ſmall apertures for the light are bored with fiſh-bones. Doomed to a ſix-month's night, they never ſee the ſun but obliquely, and then it ſeems rather to blind them than to give them light. Sight, the moſt delightful bleſſing of nature, is a fatal gift to them, and they are generally deprived of it when young.

A STILL more cruel evil, which is the ſcurvy, conſumes them by ſlow degrees. It inſinuates itſelf into their blood, changes, thickens and impoveriſhes the whole maſs. The fogs of the ſea, which they inſpire, the denſe and inelaſtic air they breathe in their huts, which exclude all communication with the external air, the continued and tedious inactivity of their long winters, a mode of life alternately roving and ſedentary; in a word, every circumſtance ſerves to increaſe this dreadful illneſs; which in a little time becomes contagious, and ſpreading itſelf throughout their habitations, is alſo probably entailed upon their poſterity.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe inconveniencies, the Eſquimaux is ſo paſſionately fond of his country, that no inhabitant of the moſt favoured ſpot under heaven quits it with more reluctance than he does his frozen deſerts. One of the reaſons of this may be, that he finds it difficult to breathe in a ſofter and more temperate climate. The ſky of Amſterdam, Copenhagen, and London, though conſtantly

ſtantly obſcured by thick and fœtid vapours, is too clear for an Eſquimaux. Perhaps too, there may be ſomething in the change of life and manners ſtill more unfavourable to the health of ſavages than the climate. It is not impoſſible but that the delights of an European may be poiſon to the Eſquimaux.

Such were the inhabitants of the country diſcovered in 1607 by Henry Hudſon, who had employed himſelf in ſearching for a North-weſt paſſage to enter into the South Sea. This intrepid and able navigator, in 1611, was going through, for the third time, theſe ſtreights, which were before unknow'n, when his baſe and treacherous crew placed him, with ſeven of the ſailors, who were animated with the ſame ſpirit, in a very ſlight boat, and left him, without either arms or proviſions, expoſed to all the dangers both of ſea and land. The barbarians who refuſed him the neceſſaries of life, could not, however, rob him of the honour of the diſcovery; and the bay which he firſt found out will ever be called by his name.

The miſeries of the civil war which followed ſoon after, had, however, made the Engliſh forget this diſtant country, which had nothing to attract them. A ſucceſſion of more quiet times had not yet induced them to attend to it, when Groſeillers and Radiſſon, two French Canadians, having met with ſome diſcontent at home, informed the Engliſh, who were engaged in repairing the miſchiefs of diſcord by trade, of the profits ariſing from furs, and of their claim to the country that furniſhed

furniſhed them. Thoſe who propoſed this undertaking ſhewed ſo much ability, that they were intruſted with the execution of it; and the firſt eſtabliſhment they formed ſucceeded ſo well, that it ſurpaſſed their own hopes as well as their promiſes.

This ſucceſs alarmed the French, who were afraid, and with reaſon, that moſt of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudſon's Bay. Their alarms were confirmed by the unanimous teſtimony of their *Coureurs de Bois*, who, ſince 1656, had been four times as far as the borders of the ſtreight. It would have been an eligible thing to have gone by the ſame road to attack the new colony; but the diſtance being thought too conſiderable, notwithſtanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined that the expedition ſhould be made by ſea. The fate of it was truſted to Groſeillers and Radiſſon, who had been eaſily prevailed upon to renew their attachment to their country.

These two bold and turbulent men ſailed from Quebec in 1682, in two veſſels ill-equipped, and on their arrival, finding themſelves not ſtrong enough to attack the enemy, they were contented with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of that they deſigned to have taken. From this time they began a rivalſhip between the two companies, one ſettled at Canada, the other in England, for the excluſive trade of the bay, which was conſtantly kept up by the diſputes it occaſioned, till at laſt, after each of their ſettlements had been frequently

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frequently taken and recovered, all hoſtilities were terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, by which the whole was ceded to Great Britain.

Hudson's Bay, properly ſpeaking, is only a mart for trade. The ſeverity of the climate having deſtroyed all the corn ſow'n there at different times, has fruſtrated every hope of agriculture, and conſequently of population. Throughout the whole of this extenſive coaſt, there are not more than ninety or a hundred ſoldiers, or factors, who live in four bad forts, of which York fort is the principal. Their buſineſs is to receive the furs brought by the neighbouring ſavages in exchange for merchandiſe, of which they have been taught the value and uſe.

Though theſe ſkins be much more valuable than thoſe which are found in countries not ſo far north, yet they are cheaper. The ſavages give ten beaver ſkins for a gun, two for a pound of powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for a hatchet, one for ſix knives, two for a pound of glaſs beads, ſix for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of ſnuff. Combs, looking-glaſſes, kettles, and brandy, ſell in proportion. As the beaver is the common meaſure of exchange, by another regulation as fraudulent as the firſt, two otter ſkins and three martins are required inſtead of one beaver. Beſide this oppreſſion, which is authorized, there is another which is at leaſt tolerated, by which the ſavages are conſtantly defrauded in the quality, quantity, and meaſure of what is given them; and by which they loſe about one third of the value.

FROM this regulated ſyſtem of impoſition it is eaſy to gueſs that the commerce of Hudſon's Bay is a monopoly. The capital of the company that is in poſſeſſion of it was originally no more than 241,500 livres*, and has been ſucceſſively increaſed to 2,380,500†. This capital brings them in an annual return of forty or fifty thouſand ſkins of beavers or other animals, upon which they make ſo exorbitant a profit, that it excites the jealouſy and clamours of the nation. Two-thirds of theſe beautiful furs are either conſumed in kind in the three kingdoms, or made uſe of in the national manufactures. The reſt are carried into Germany, where the nature of the climate makes them a valuable commodity.

Whether there be a paſſage from Hudſon's Bay to the Eaſt Indies.

BUT it is neither the acquiſition of theſe ſavage riches, nor the ſtill greater emoluments that might be draw'n from this trade, if it were made free, which have alone fixed the attention of England as well as that of all Europe upon this frozen continent. Hudſon's Bay always has been, and is ſtill looked upon as the neareſt road from Europe to the Eaſt Indies, and to the richeſt parts of Aſia.

CABOT was the firſt who entertained an idea of a North-weſt paſſage to the South Seas; but his diſcoveries ended at Newfoundland. After him followed a multitude of Engliſh navigators, many of whom had the glory of giving their names to ſavage coaſts which no mortal had ever viſited before. Theſe bold and memorable expeditions

* 10,062 l. 10 s. † 99,187 l. 10 s.

were

were more ſtriking than really uſeful. The moſt fortunate of them did not furniſh a ſingle idea relative to the object of purſuit. The Dutch, leſs frequent in their attempts, and who purſued them with leſs ardour, were of courſe not more ſucceſsful, and the whole began to be treated as a chimæra, when the diſcovery of Hudſon's Bay rekindled all the hopes that were nearly extinguiſhed.

From this time the attempts were renewed with freſh ardour. Thoſe that had been made before in vain by the mother country, whoſe attention was engroſſed by her own inteſtine commotions, were purſued by New England, whoſe ſituation was more favourable to the enterprize. Still, however, for ſome time there were more voyages undertaken than diſcoveries made. The nation was a long time kept in ſuſpenſe by the contradictory accounts received from the adventurers. While ſome maintained the poſſibility, ſome the probability, and others aſſerted the certainty of the paſſage; the accounts they gave, inſtead of clearing up the point, involved it in ſtill greater darkneſs. Indeed, theſe accounts are ſo full of obſcurity and confuſion, they are ſilent upon ſo many important circumſtances, and they diſplay ſuch viſible marks of ignorance and want of veracity, that however impatient we may be of determining the queſtion, it is impoſſible to build any thing like a ſolid judgment upon teſtimonies ſo ſuſpicious. At length, the famous expedition of 1746 threw ſome kind of light upon a point which had remained enveloped in darkneſs for two centuries paſt. But upon

upon what grounds have the later navigators entertained better hopes? What are the experiments on which they found their conjectures?

Let us proceed to give an account of their arguments. There are three facts in natural hiſtory, which henceforward muſt be taken for granted. The firſt is, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or leſs into the other ſeas, in proportion as their channels communicate with the great reſervoir by larger or ſmaller openings; from whence it follows that this periodical motion either doth not exiſt, or is ſcarce perceptible in the Mediterranean, in the Baltic, and other gulphs of the ſame nature. A ſecond matter of fact is, that the tides are much later and much weaker in places more remote from the ocean, than in thoſe which are nearer to it. The third fact is, that violent winds, which blow in a direction with the tides, make them riſe above their ordinary boundaries; and that thoſe which blow in a contrary direction retard their motion, at the ſame time that they diminiſh their ſwell.

From theſe principles it is moſt certain, that if Hudſon's Bay were no more than a gulph incloſed between two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconſiderable; they would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from the ſource, and would be much leſs ſtrong wherever they ran in a contrary direction to the wind. But it is proved by obſervations made with the greateſt ſkill and preciſion, that the tides are very high throughout

throughout the whole bay. It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom of the bay than even in the ſtreight itſelf, or at leaſt in the neighbourhood of it. It is proved that even this height increaſes whenever the wind blows from a corner oppoſite to the ſtreight; it is, therefore, certain, that Hudſon's Bay has a communication with the ocean, beſide that which has been already found out.

Those who have endeavoured to explain theſe very ſtriking facts, by ſuppoſing a communication of Hudſon's with Baffin's Bay, or with Davis's Streights, are evidently in an error. They would not ſcruple to reject this opinion, for which, indeed, there is no real foundation, if they only conſidered that the tides are much lower in Davis's Streights, and in Baffin's Bay, than in Hudſon's.

But if the tides in Hudſon's Bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern ſea, in which they are conſtantly much weaker, it follows that they muſt have their origin in the South Sea. And this is ſtill further apparent from another leading fact, which is, that the higheſt tides ever obſerved upon theſe coaſts are always occaſioned by the north-weſt winds, which blow directly againſt the mouth of the ſtreight.

Having thus determined, as much as the nature of the ſubject will permit, the exiſtence of this paſſage ſo long and ſo vainly wiſhed-for, the next point is, to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. From conſidering every circumſtance, we are induced to think that the attempts,

tempts, which have been hitherto made without either choice or method, ought to be directed towards Welcome Bay, on the weſtern coaſt. Firſt, the bottom of the ſea is to be ſeen there at the depth of about eleven fathom, which is an evident ſign that the water comes from ſome ocean, as ſuch a tranſparency could not exiſt in waters diſcharged from rivers, or in melted ſnow or rain. Secondly, The currents keep this place always free from ice, while all the reſt of the bay is covered with it; and their violence cannot be accounted for but by ſuppoſing them to come from ſome weſtern ſea. Laſtly, The whales, which towards the latter end of autumn always go in ſearch of the warmeſt climates, are found in great abundance in theſe parts towards the end of the ſummer, which would ſeem to indicate that there is an outlet for them from thence to the South Seas, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable that the paſſage is very ſhort. All the rivers that empty themſelves on the weſtern coaſt of Hudſon's Bay are ſmall and ſlow, which ſeems to prove that they do not come from any diſtance; and that conſequently the lands which ſeparate the two ſeas are of a ſmall extent. This argument is ſtrengthened by the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occaſioned by the retarded progreſſion of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain ſign that the ocean from whence thoſe tides come is very near. If the paſſage be ſhort, and not very far to the north, as every thing ſeems

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ſeems to promiſe, we may alſo preſume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents obſervable in theſe latitudes, which prevents any flakes of ice from continuing there, cannot but give ſome weight to this conjecture.

THE diſcovery that ſtill remains to be made is of ſo much importance and utility, that it would be folly to neglect the purſuit of it. It is conſiſtent with the intereſt, as well as the dignity of Great Britain, that theſe attempts ſhould be purſued, either till they ſucceed, or till the impoſſibility of ſucceeding ſhall be demonſtrated. The reſolution which they have taken in 1745, of promiſing a conſiderable reward to the navigators who ſhould ſucceed in this great project, diſplays their wiſdom even in their generoſity: but is not ſtill ſufficient to attain the end that is propoſed. The miniſtry of England muſt know, that the efforts of individuals will not ſucceed, till the trade of Hudſon's Bay be entirely laid open. It ought to be made free on every account, and particularly, becauſe the term of the grant given by Charles II. has been expired for a long time, and hath never been legally prolonged. The company in whoſe hands the trade is, ſince the year 1670, not ſatisfied with neglecting the object of their inſtitution, by taking no ſteps towards the diſcovery of a North-weſt paſſage, have even exerted their utmoſt efforts to thwart the deſigns of thoſe who, either from love of glory or from other motives, have been impelled to this undertaking. Nothing can alter that ſpirit of iniquity which conſtitutes the eſſence of monopoly.

PERHAPS

How the paſſage from Hudſon's Bay to the Eaſt Indies been properly ſearched for?

PERHAPS, we ſhould however confine ourſelves chiefly to the Northern ſeas, in order to diſcover this long-wiſhed-for paſſage. About two centuries ago, a report was ſpread that there exiſted one ſomewhere elſe, which was ſometimes deſcribed under the name of Anian. The Spaniards, who were not yet acquainted with the paſſage from Cape Horn to the South Seas, and who got there only by the Streights of Magellan, which were dreaded on account of the frequent ſhipwrecks that happened there, eagerly laid hold of this popular opinion. They fitted out five expeditions, as expenſive as they were uſeleſs; and the reſult of which was, that Europe was undeceived with reſpect to this fabulous account, which the Spaniards themſelves were accuſed of having propagated, in order to divert other nations from the deſign of ſeeking a paſſage towards the North.

THIS ſtate of inaction did not, it is ſaid, laſt long. The court of Madrid being informed that New England was preparing, in 1636, a new expedition, to diſcover a paſſage through the Frozen Sea, likewiſe ordered one to be fitted out at Peru, in order to meet theſe navigators. Admiral Fuentes, who was intruſted with this expedition, ſet out from Callao, with four ſhips, towards the middle of the year 1640. He rapidly overcame all the obſtacles which nature oppoſed to his operations, and arrived himſelf in Hudſon's Bay, while his lieutenants penetrated into Davis's Streights, and into the ſea of Tartary, at the extremity of Aſia. After the diſcovery

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very of theſe three paſſages, the ſmall fleet very happily regained the South Sea, from whence it had ſet out. It hath been pretended that the council in India, had myſteriouſly concealed the knowlege of this event from the nations, and that they had ſuppreſſed, with the greateſt care, all the accounts which might one day revive the memory of it. The Spaniards, in their turn, affirm, that the expedition of Fuentes, and the diſcovery, are both equally chimerical; and there can be no doubt but that they are entirely in the right.

It is very poſſible that the writings recently publiſhed upon this ſubject, have excited a laudable curioſity. The government of Mexico, animated with the ſame ſpirit which begins to ſtimulate the mother-country, diſpatched, on the 13th of June 1773, a frigate, deſtined to reconnoitre America at the higheſt degree of latitude poſſible. The perſons on board this ſhip perceived the coaſt at 40, 49, and even at 55 degrees 43 minutes; preciſely at the ſame place where Captain Tichivikow had diſcovered it upon his firſt expedition from Kamtſchatka. The ſhip entered into the port of Saint Blas, to take in freſh proviſions, and then recommenced it's cruiſes. It can ſcarce be doubted, but that the deſire of gaining information with reſpect to the North-weſt Paſſage, was the principal deſign of all theſe labours.

After ſo many fruitleſs attempts, if ſome navigator ſhould appear, whoſe ſtrong mind riſes ſuperior to every ſenſe of danger; who fears not

to encounter the greateſt and moſt various hardſhips, and whoſe patience cannot be exhauſted by the duration of them: if ſuch a one ſhould be animated with the ſenſe of glory, the only principle which makes men regardleſs of life, and excites them to great undertakings: if he ſhould be a well-informed man, ſo as to underſtand what he ſees, and a man of veracity, ſo as relate nothing but what he hath ſeen; his reſearches will, perhaps, be crowned with better ſucceſs.

THIS extraordinary man hath appeared in the perſon of Captain Cook: that navigator, who is ſo much beyond all his competitors, is gone for Otaheite. From thence he is to proceed to the North of California, there to ſeek for the North-weſt paſſage. He will have, for the purpoſe of effecting this diſcovery, many advantages denied to thoſe navigators who have gone by the way of Hudſon's Bay, or of the neighbouring latitudes. If this celebrated paſſage ſhould ſtill remain concealed, though it be ſought for with all his reſolution and ſkill, it muſt be concluded, either that it doth not exiſt, or that it is not given to man to diſcover it.

BUT how inconceivable is the viciſſitude of all human affairs; how perpetual the ſway of deſtiny, which thwarts or favours, retards or accelerates, ſtops or ſuſpends our enterprizes! Cook, whom nature had endowed with the genius and intrepidity neceſſary for extraordinary actions; whom a generous and enlightened nation had provided with all the means that can

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insure success; whose ship, a young monarch, convinced undoubtedly that virtue attends upon the progress of knowlege, had given orders to respect, and to assist during the course of hostilities, as in time of full peace; Cook, who had sailed over an immense extent of space, and whose labours were now drawing near to an end, loses his life by the hands of a savage. The man whose remains should have been deposited by the side of kings, is buried at the foot of a tree, in an island almost unknow'n.

Should his successor Captain Clerke, who pursues his projects, at length discover this passage, which hath been so obstinately sought for, and should it prove easy to sail through it, the connections between Europe and the East and West Indies will become more animated, more constant, and more considerable. Both the Streights of Magellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deserted, and the Cape of Good Hope much less frequented.

These revolutions, which may affect Hudson's Bay in so palpable a manner, will never change the destiny of Canada, conquered from France in 1760.

State of Canada since it hath been under the dominion of Great Britain.

This colony was divided during the space of four years into three military governments. Civil and criminal causes were tried at Quebec and at Trois Rivieres, by the officers of the army; while at Montreal, these nice and important functions were intrusted to the citizens. They were both equally ignorant of the laws: and the commandant

commandant of each diſtrict, to whom an appeal lay from their ſentences, was not better informed.

A NEW ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed in the year 1764. Canada was diſmembered of the coaſt of Labrador, which was united to Newfoundland; of Lake Champlain, and of all the ſpace to the ſouth of the forty-fifth degree of latitude, which was added to New York; and of the immenſe territory to the weſt of Fort Golette, and of the Lake Niſſiping, which was put under no government. The remainder, under the title of the Province of Quebec, was ſubject to one governor.

AT the ſame period, the colony was put under the laws of the Admiralty of England; but this innovation was hardly perceived, becauſe it ſcarce intereſted any but the conquerors, who were in poſſeſſion of all the maritime trade.

GREATER attention was paid to the eſtabliſhment of the code of criminal laws adopted in England. This was one of the moſt valuable preſents Canada could poſſibly receive.

BEFORE that time, a culprit, whether guilty or only ſuſpected, was immediately ſeized, throw'n into priſon, and queſtioned, without being made acquainted either with his crime or with his accuſer, and without being allowed the liberty of ſeeing either his relations or friends, or of applying to council. He was made to ſwear, that he would tell the truth, that is to ſay, accuſe himſelf; and to complete theſe abſurdities, his teſtimony was diſregarded.

ATTEMPTS were then made to embarraſs him with captious queſtions, which an impudent and guilty perſon could more readily anſwer, than an innocent man in confuſion. One might have ſaid, that the function of a judge was nothing more than the ſubtle art of finding out culprits. The priſoner was not confronted with thoſe who depoſed againſt him, till the inſtant before the judge pronounced either his releaſe, or a delay of paſſing ſentence, for the purpoſe of obtaining more ample information, or the puniſhment of torture or death. In caſe of releaſe, the innocent man obtained no indemnity; while, on the other hand, the ſentence of death was always followed by confiſcation: for ſuch, in abridgment, is the mode of criminal proceſs in France. The Canadians ſoon underſtood, and ſenſibly felt the value of a legiſlation, which removed all theſe evils.

THE civil code of Great Britain did not give equal ſatisfaction. It's ſtatutes were complicated, obſcure, and numerous; they were written in a language which was not then familiar to the conquered people. Independent of theſe conſiderations, the Canadians had lived one hundred and fifty years under another kind of adminiſtration, which they were attached to by birth, by education, by cuſtom, and, perhaps alſo, by a kind of national pride. They could not therefore but experience great uneaſineſs at ſeeing a change in the rule of their duties, and in the baſis of their property. If diſcontent was not carried ſo far as

to diſturb public tranquillity, it was becauſe the inhabitants of this region had not yet loſt that ſpirit of blind obedience which had ſo long directed all their actions: it is becauſe the adminiſtrators and magiſtrates who had been given to them, were conſtantly deviating from their inſtructions, in order to come as near as poſſible to the cuſtoms and maxims which they found eſtabliſhed.

The parliament was aware that this arrangement could not be laſting. They ſettled, that, on the firſt of May 1775, Canada ſhould recover it's firſt limits: that it ſhould be governed by it's former juriſprudence, and by the criminal and maritime laws of England: that the free exerciſe of the Catholic religion ſhould be allowed; and that this kind of worſhip ſhould never be an obſtacle to any of the rights of the citizen: that eccleſiaſtical tithes, and the feudal obligations, which had been ſo fortunately diſuſed ſince the time of the conqueſt, ſhould recover their former influence. A council, appointed by the king, might annul theſe arrangements, and exerciſe every kind of power, except that of levying taxes. This council was to conſiſt of twenty-three perſons, promiſcuouſly choſen from among the two nations, and ſubjected only to take an oath of allegiance.

This ariſtocracy, which was very variable, and entirely of a new caſt, was generally diſliked. The antient ſubjects of Great Britain lately ſettled in this new poſſeſſion, were exceedingly diſſatisfied at having part of their rights taken from

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from them. The Canadians, who began to know the value of liberty, and who had been flattered with the hopes of being under the Engliſh government, found themſelves, with grief, deceived in their expectations. It is probable that the court of London itſelf had not a more favourable opinion of this meaſure. This kind of arrangement had been ſuggeſted to the government, by the diſcontent which was already know'n to prevail in moſt of their provinces of the New World. It may be preſumed that they will retract when circumſtances and policy will admit of it.

But yet what became of Canada during the courſe of thoſe too rapid revolutions that have happened in the government?

It's population, which the events of war had ſeverely decreaſed, hath ariſen to one hundred and thirty thouſand ſouls, in the ſpace of ſixteen years. The province hath not been indebted to new coloniſts for this increaſe. There has ſcarce arrived a ſufficient number of Engliſhmen, to replace one thouſand or twelve hundred Frenchmen who had quitted it at the conqueſt. This fortunate event hath alone been produced by peace, by eaſy circumſtances, and by a multiplication of uſeful labours.

The firſt years of tranquillity have ſerved to extricate the colony from that kind of chaos into which it had been plunged by a deſtructive and unfortunate war. Theſe events have ſoon been ſucceeded by improvements.

Stockings, lace, coarſe linens, and common ſtuffs, had for a long time been manufactured at Canada,

Canada. Theſe manufactures have been extended but not improved. The two latter muſt remain in this ſtate of degradation, till they are taken out of the hands of women, who are alone employed in them, as well as in others more ſuitable to their ſex.

The beaver and fur trade hath not diminiſhed, as it was apprehended. It hath even rather increaſed, becauſe the Canadians, more active than their neighbours, and better ſkilled in treating with the ſavages, have ſucceeded in reſtraining the intercourſe betwen Hudſon's Bay and New York. Beſides, the value of the furs is doubled in Europe, while the price of the articles which are given in exchange is but a little enhanced.

Though the ſeas in the neighbourhood of Canada abound in fiſh, the Canadians have ſeldom frequented them. The natural obſtacles which render them averſe from navigation, alſo diſguſt them of fiſhing. The cod fiſhery, however, formerly attempted at Gaſpé and at Mont Louis; that of the ſalmon and of the ſeal, eſtabliſhed upon the coaſt of Labrador, have made ſome progreſs, ſince the conqueſt. The whale fiſhery hath even been attempted, but not with ſufficient ſucceſs to be continued. It will undoubtedly be revived, when an increaſe of ſailors, and of knowlege, and perhaps when gratuities, properly beſtowed, ſhall have levelled every difficulty.

The cattle have increaſed, and yet there is no meat ſalted, except for the internal conſumption, and

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and for the exterior navigation of the colony. Some of theſe ſalt proviſions will ſoon be ſent to the Weſt Indies, in the ſame manner as horſes now are; which, though ſmall, are indefatigable.

The culture of flax, hemp, and tobacco, hath viſibly increaſed. That of corn hath particularly engaged the attention of the colony. In 1770, it began to furniſh flour to the Weſt Indies, and ſeeds to Italy, to Portugal, to Spain, and even to England; and this exportation increaſes continually.

In 1769, the productions ſold to foreigners amounted to 4,077,602 livres 7 ſols 8 deniers *. They were carried off by about ſeventy veſſels from Old, or New England; ſeveral of which came with their ballaſt only. The others brought to the colony, rum, molaſſes, coffee, and ſugar, from the Weſt Indies; ſalt, oil, wine, and brandy, from Spain, Italy, and Portugal; and ſtuffs, linens, and houſehold furniture from the mother-country. Canada is properly in poſſeſſion of no other ſhips except thoſe which are neceſſary for the internal conſumption; a dozen of ſmall veſſels, which are employed in the ſeal fiſhery; and five or ſix, which are ſent to the Antilles. The conſtruction of veſſels, far from having been more frequent, hath diminiſhed ſince the conqueſt; and it is to the dearneſs of labour, in which more hands are employed, that this change, which it was not natural to expect, muſt be attributed.

* About 169,900 l. 2 s 4 d.

This

This inconvenience hath not prevented the colony from becoming richer than it was under another dominion. It's debts have been entirely paid, ſince the year 1772, and it hath no paper currency. It's ſpecie increaſes daily, both by the multiplication of it's commodities, and by the expences of government. Beſides what Great Britain hath expended for the troops, the civil adminiſtration of Canada coſts the country annually 625,000 livres*, while it receives only 225,000 livres† from the duties which it hath impoſed, in 1765, 1772, and 1773, on the wines, brandy, rum, molaſſes, glaſs, and colours.

The extent of Canada, the fertility of it's ſoil, the ſalubrity of it's climate, ſhould ſeem to invite it to a great degree of proſperity; but this is impeded by powerful obſtacles. This region hath only one river for it's exports and imports, and even this is blocked up by ice, ſo as not to be navigable during ſix months; while heavy fogs render the navigation of it ſlow and difficult throughout the reſt of the year. Hence it will happen, that the other northern colonies which have the ſame productions as this colony, and have not ſimilar obſtacles to ſurmount, will always have a decided advantage over it, for the large fiſheries, and for the navigation to the Weſt Indies and to Europe. In this reſpect the iſland of St. John is more fortunately circumſtanced.

What is become of the iſlands of St. John, of Magdalen, and of Cape

When the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. John, ſituated on the Gulph of St. Lawrence, they had the bad policy to expel from

* 26,041 l. 13 s. 4 d. † 9,375 l.

thence

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Breton, since they have been subject to the British government?

thence more than three thousand Frenchmen, who had lately formed settlements there. No sooner had the property of the island been insured to the conqueror by treaties, than the Earl of Egmont was desirous of becoming master of it. He engaged to furnish twelve hundred armed men for the defence of the colony, provided he were permitted to cede, on the same conditions, and in mesne fee, some considerable portions of his territory. These offers were agreeable to the court of London, but by a law which was made at the memorable period of the restoration of Charles II. the granting of the domains of the crown upon the stipulation of a military service, or of a feudal homage, had been forbidden. The lawyers determined, that this statute affected the New, as well as the Old World, and this decision suggested other ideas to government.

The long and cruel storm by which the globe had been agitated was appeased. Most of the officers who had sealed the triumphs of England with their blood, were unemployed and without subsistence. It was imagined to divide the soil of St. John among them, upon condition that after ten years of free enjoyment, they should annually pay to the treasury, as they do in most of the provinces of the continent of America, 2 livres 10 sols 7 deniers and a half * for every hundred acres they should possess. Very few of these new proprietors intended to settle in these distant regions; very few of them were able to furnish the

* About 2 s. 1¼ d.

ſums neceſſary for clearing a portion of land of any extent. Moſt of them ceded their rights, for a greater or leſs time, and for a rent more or leſs moderate, to ſome Iriſhmen, and eſpecially to ſome Scotch Highlanders. The number of coloniſts doth not yet amount to twelve hundred; who are employed in the cod fiſhery, and in cultures of different kinds. They have no intercourſe with Europe, but trade only with Quebec and with Halifax.

Till 1772, St. John depended upon Nova Scotia. At this period it formed a ſeparate ſtate. It obtained a governor, a council, an aſſembly, a cuſtom-houſe, and an admiralty. Port la Joie, which is now called Charlotte Town, is the capital of the colony.

An iſland of ſo ſmall an extent ſcarce appeared worthy of the importance it acquired by favours which we cannot account for. In order to give a kind of reality to this ſettlement, the iſlands of Magdalen, inhabited by a few perſons employed in the cod fiſhery, and in catching ſea-cows, were annexed to it; as was alſo Cape Breton, which was formerly famous, but which hath loſt it's importance by it's change of government. Louiſbourg, the terror of Engliſh America not twenty years ago, is now no more than a heap of ruins. The four thouſand Frenchmen who had been diſperſed after the conqueſt, by an unjuſt and ill-judged miſtruſt, have only been replaced by five or ſix hundred men, who are more engaged in ſmuggling than in fiſhing. Even the coal-mines have no longer been attended to.

These

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THESE mines are very abundant at Cape Breton, are eaſily worked, and are in ſome meaſure inexhauſtible. Under the former poſſeſſors a great confuſion prevailed in them, which the new government have wiſhed to prevent, by reſerving the property to themſelves, in order to cede it only to thoſe who ſhould have ſufficient means to render it uſeful. Thoſe who will engage in this undertaking, with the funds requiſite, will find an advantageous mart in all the weſtern iſlands of America, and even upon the coaſts, and in the ports of the northern continent, where the dearneſs of wood is already experienced, and where it will be ſtill more ſenſibly felt every day. This ſpecies of induſtry would form a trade to the colony, which would be ever increaſing; and it would even extend it's fiſheries, but not to that degree as ever to render them equal to thoſe of Newfoundland.

Deſcription of the iſland of Newfoundland.

THIS iſland, ſituated between 46 and 52 degrees of north latitude, is ſeparated from the coaſt of Labrador only by a channel of moderate breadth, know'n by the name of Belleiſle Streights. It is of a triangular form, and ſomething more than three hundred leagues in circumference. We can only ſpeak by conjecture of the inland parts of it on account of the difficulty of penetrating far into it, and the apparent inutility of ſucceeding in the attempt. The little that is know'n of it, is, that it is full of very ſteep rocks, mountains covered with bad wood, and ſome very narrow and ſandy valleys. Theſe inacceſſible places are ſtocked with deer, which multiply with the greater eaſe,

eaſe, on account of the ſecurity of their ſituation. No ſavages have ever been ſeen there except ſome Eſquimaux, who come over from the continent in the hunting ſeaſon. The coaſt abounds with creeks, roads, and harbours; is ſometimes covered with moſs, but more commonly with ſmall pebbles, which ſeem as if they had been placed there by deſign, for the purpoſe of drying the fiſh caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat ſtones reflect the ſun's rays, the heat is exceſſive. The reſt of the country is entirely cold; leſs ſo, however, from it's ſituation, than from the heights, the foreſts, the winds, and above all the vaſt mountains of ice which come out of the Northern ſeas, and fix on theſe coaſts. The ſky towards the northern and weſtern parts is conſtantly ſerene, but is much leſs ſo towards the eaſt and ſouth, both of theſe points being too near the great bank, which is enveloped in a perpetual fog.

At what period, and in what manner, the Engliſh and French have ſettled at Newfoundland.

NEWFOUNDLAND was diſcovered in 1497, by John Cabot, a Venetian; but this diſcovery was not purſued. At the return of this great navigator, England was too much taken up with it's diſputes with Scotland, to give any ſerious attention to ſuch diſtant intereſts.

THIRTY years afterwards, Henry VIII. ſent two ſhips to take a more particular ſurvey of the iſland, which had as yet been only perceived. One of theſe ſhips was loſt upon thoſe ſavage coaſts, and the other returned to England without having acquired any information.

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ANOTHER voyage, undertaken in 1536, was more ſucceſsful. The adventurers, who had undertaken it with the aſſiſtance of government, informed their country, that a great quantity of cod-fiſh might be caught at Newfoundland. This information was not entirely uſeleſs: and ſoon after, ſome ſmall veſſels were ſent from England in the ſpring, which returned in autumn with their whole freight of fiſh, both ſalt and dried.

AT firſt, the territory which was requiſite to prepare the cod-fiſh belonged to the firſt perſon who ſeized upon it. This cuſtom proved a perpetual ſource of diſcord. Sir Thomas Hampſhire, who was ſent by Queen Elizabeth in 1582 into theſe latitudes, with five ſhips, was authorized to ſecure to every fiſherman the property of that portion of the coaſt which he choſe.

THIS new arrangement multiplied the expeditions to Newfoundland to ſuch a degree, that in 1615 two hundred and fifty Engliſh veſſels were ſeen upon thoſe coaſts, the lading of which amounted in all to fifteen thouſand tons. All theſe veſſels had ſailed from Europe. It was not till ſome years after that fixed habitations were formed there, which gradually occupied, on the eaſtern coaſt, the ſpace that extends from Conception Bay to Cape Ras. Thoſe who were concerned in the fiſhery being forced, both from the nature of their employment and that of the ſoil, to live at a diſtance from each other, opened paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's, where,

where, in an excellent harbour, formed between two mountains at a very ſmall diſtance from each other, they met with privateers from the mother-country, who ſupplied them with every neceſſary article, in exchange for the produce of their fiſhery.

The French had turned their views towards Newfoundland, before this proſperity of the Engliſh trade. They pretend even that they have frequented the coaſts of this iſland ſince the beginning of the ſixteenth century. This period may be too remote; but it is certain that they frequented them before the year 1634, when they obtained, according to the account of their rivals, from Charles I. the liberty of fiſhing in theſe latitudes, on the condition of paying him a duty of five per cent. But this tribute, which was equally burthenſome and humiliating, was ſoon after taken off.

However this fact may be, the truth of which is not aſcertained by any record, it is proved, that towards the middle of the ſeventeenth century, the French went annually to Newfoundland. They did not, it is true, fiſh on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland, though, as it made part of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, it was underſtood to belong to them, but they frequented in great numbers the northern part, which they had called *Le Petit Nord*. Some of them had even fixed upon the ſouthern part, where they had formed a kind of town upon the Bay of Placentia, which united all the conveniences that could be wiſhed for to obtain a ſucceſsful fiſhery.

Among all the ſettlements with which the Europeans have covered the New World, there is none of the nature of that of Newfoundland. The others have generally been the deſtruction of the firſt coloniſts they have received, and of a great number of their ſucceſſors; this climate, of itſelf, hath not deſtroyed one ſingle perſon; it hath even reſtored ſtrength to ſome of thoſe whoſe health had been affected by leſs wholeſome climates. The other colonies have exhibited a ſeries of injuſtice, oppreſſion, and carnage, which will for ever be holden in deteſtation. Newfoundland alone hath not offended againſt humanity, nor injured the rights of any people. The other ſettlements have yielded productions, only by receiving an equal value in exchange. Newfoundland alone hath draw'n from the depths of the waters, riches formed by nature alone, and which furniſh ſubſiſtence to ſeveral countries of both hemiſpheres.

How much time hath elapſed before this parallel hath been made! Of what importance did fiſh appear, when compared to the money which men went in ſearch of in the New World? It was long before it was underſtood, if even it be yet underſtood, that the repreſentation of the thing is not of greater value than the thing itſelf; and that a ſhip filled with cod, and a galleon, are veſſels equally laden with gold. There is even this remarkable difference, that mines can be exhauſted, and that the fiſheries never are. Gold is not reproduced, but the fiſh are ſo inceſſantly.

THE wealth of the fiſheries of Newfoundland had made ſuch a ſmall impreſſion upon the court of Verſailles in particular, that they had not even thought of thoſe latitudes before 1660; and that even then, they took no further notice of it, than to deſtroy the good which had been done there by their ſubjects, without their ſanction. They gave up the property of Placentia Bay to a private man named Gargot; but this rapacious man was driven away by the fiſhermen, whom he had been allowed to ſpoil. The miniſtry did not perſiſt in ſupporting the injuſtice of which they had been guilty; and nevertheleſs the oppreſſion of the colony was not diminiſhed. The laborious men, whom neceſſity had united upon this barren and ſavage land, being now draw'n out of that fortunate oblivion in which they had remained, were perſecuted without intermiſſion by the commanders who ſucceeded each other in a fort which had been conſtructed. This tyranny, by which the coloniſts were prevented from acquiring that degree of competency that was neceſſary to enable them to purſue their labours with ſucceſs, muſt alſo hinder them from increaſing their numbers. The French fiſhery, therefore, could never proſper ſo well as that of the Engliſh.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, Great Britain, at the treaty of Utrecht, did not forget that her enterpriſing neighbours, ſupported by the Canadians, accuſtomed to ſudden attacks, and to the fatigues of the chace, had ſeveral times, during the two laſt wars, carried devaſtation into her ſettle-

ments. This was ſufficient to induce her to demand the entire poſſeſſion of the iſland; and France, exhauſted by her misfortunes, reſolved to make this ſacrifice; not, however, without reſerving to themſelves not only the right of fiſhing on one part of the iſland, but alſo on the Great Bank, which was conſidered as belonging to it.

It is the cod fiſh alone which renders Newfoundland of importance. Preſent ſtate of this fiſhery, divided into wandering and ſtationary fiſhery.

THE fiſh for which theſe latitudes are ſo famous is the cod. The length of this fiſh does not exceed three feet, and is often leſs; but the ſea does not produce any with mouths as large in proportion to their ſize, or who are ſo voracious. Broken pieces of earthen ware, iron and glaſs, are often found in their bellies. The ſtomach, indeed, does not, as has been imagined, digeſt theſe hard ſubſtances, but by a certain power of inverting itſelf, like a pocket, diſcharges whatever loads it. This fiſh would have been leſs voracious, if it's ſtomach had not been capable of being inverted. It's organization makes it indifferent with reſpect to the nature of the ſuſtenance it feeds upon. The conformation of the organs is the principle of appetite, in all the living ſubſtances in the three natural kingdoms.

THE cod fiſh is found in the northern ſeas of Europe. The fiſhery is carried on there by thirty Engliſh, ſixty French, and 150 Dutch veſſels, which, taken together, carry from 80 to 100 tons burden. Their competitors are the Iriſh, and above all the Norwegians. The latter are employed, before the fiſhing ſeaſon, in collecting upon the coaſt, the eggs of the cod, which is the

uſual bate for pilchards. They ſell, *communibus annis*, from twenty to twenty-two thouſand tons of this fiſh, at nine livres * per ton. If markets could be found for it, it might be taken in greater quantity: for an able naturaliſt, who has had the patience to count the eggs of one ſingle cod, has found 9,344,000 of them. This bounty of nature muſt be ſtill more conſiderable at Newfoundland, where the cod fiſh is found in infinitely greater plenty.

The fiſh of Newfoundland is alſo more delicate, though not ſo white; but it is not an object of trade when freſh, and only ſerves for the food of thoſe who are employed in the fiſhery. When it is ſalted and dried, or only ſalted, it becomes a uſeful article to a great part of Europe and America. That which is only ſalted is called green cod, and is caught upon the great bank.

This bank is one of thoſe mountains that are formed under water by the earth which the ſea is continually waſhing away from the continent. Both it's extremities terminate ſo much in a point, that it is difficult to aſſign the preciſe extent of it, but it is generally reckoned to be 160 leagues long and 90 broad. Towards the middle of it, on the European ſide, is a kind of bay, which has been called the Ditch. Throughout all this ſpace, the depth of water is very different; in ſome places there are only five, in others above ſixty fathom. The ſun ſcarce ever ſhews itſelf there, and the ſky is generally covered with a thick cold fog. The

* 7 s. 6 d.

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waves are always agitated, and the winds always high about this ſpot, which muſt be owen to this circumſtance, that the ſea being irregularly driven forward by currents, bearing ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other, ſtrikes with impetuoſity againſt the borders, which are every where perpendicular, and is repelled from them with equal violence. This is moſt likely to be the true reaſon, becauſe on the bank itſelf, at a little diſtance from the borders, the ſituation is as tranquil as in a harbour, except when a violent wind, which comes from a greater diſtance, happens to blow there.

From the middle of July to the latter end of Auguſt, there is no cod found either upon the Great Bank, or any of the ſmall ones near it, but all the reſt of the year the fiſhery is carried on.

Previous to their beginning the fiſhery, they build a gallery on the outſide of the ſhip, which reaches from the main-maſt to the ſtern, and ſometimes the whole length of the veſſel. This gallery is furniſhed with barrels, with the tops beaten out. The fiſhermen place themſelves within theſe, and are ſheltered from the weather by a pitched covering faſtened to the barrels. As ſoon as they catch a cod they cut out it's tongue, and give the fiſh to one of the boys, to carry it to a perſon appointed for the purpoſe, who immediately ſtrikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall through a ſmall hatchway between the decks; when another man takes it, and draws out the bone as far as the navel, and then lets it ſink through another hatchway

hatchway into the hold, where it is ſalted and ranged in piles. The perſon who ſalts it takes care to leave ſalt enough between each row of fiſh, but not more than is ſufficient to prevent their touching each other, for either of theſe circumſtances neglected would ſpoil the cod.

But it is a well atteſted phœnomenon, that the cod fiſhery is ſcarcely begun before the ſea becomes oily, grows calm, and the barks are ſeen floating upon the ſurface of the waters as upon a poliſhed mirror. The ſame effect is produced by the oil which runs from a whale when it is cut to pieces. A ſhip newly tarred appeaſes the ſea under it and round the veſſels which are near it. In 1756, Dr. Franklin going to Louiſbourg with a great fleet, obſerved that the way of two ſhips was remarkably ſmooth, while that of the others was agitated; upon aſking the captain the reaſon of this, he was told that this difference was occaſioned by the waſhing of the kitchen utenſils. Dr. Franklin was not ſatisfied with this reaſon, but ſoon found out the truth of it by a ſeries of experiments, by which he diſcovered that a few drops of oil, the whole of which united together would ſcarce have filled a ſpoon, quieted the waves at more than a hundred toiſes diſtance, with a celerity of expanſion as marvellous as it's diviſion.

It appears that vegetable oil is more efficacious than animal oil. The calm which is produced by this is reckoned to laſt two hours out at ſea, where this effect requires the effuſion of a conſiderable quantity of oil. The ſacrifice of a few barrels

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barrels of this fluid hath ſaved ſome great veſſels from ſhipwreck, with which they were threatened by the moſt dreadful tempeſt.

NOTWITHSTANDING an infinite number of authentic facts, it is as yet doubtful whether oil, or in general all fat ſubſtances, whether fluid or ſeparated, have the property of lowering the height of the waves. They appear to have no effect but againſt the breakers.

IT is ſaid that the ſea breaks when it riſes very high in foaming, and in forming as it were columns of water which fall down again with great violence. When the ſea is high, the waves aſcend, but follow each other regularly, and the ſhips give way without danger to this motion, which ſeems to carry them up to the ſkies or down to the infernal regions. But when the waves are violently agitated by winds which blow in contrary directions, or from ſome other cauſe, this is not the caſe. Two ſhips cloſe enough to ſpeak, are ſuddenly hid from each other's ſight. A mountain of water riſes between them, which when it comes to break and fall upon them, is ſufficient to daſh them to pieces. This ſtate of the ſea is not a common one. One may ſail a long time without being expoſed to it. But if the uſe of oil ſhould preſerve but one ſingle veſſel among the multitude of thoſe which cover the ocean in a great number of years, the importance of this eaſy ſuccour would ſtill be very conſiderable.

THE fiſhermen of Liſbon and thoſe of the Bermudas, reſtore calm and tranſparency to the ſea

ſea with a little oil, which immediately puts a ſtop to the irregularity of the rays of light, and enables them to perceive the fiſh. The modern divers, who go in ſearch of pearls in the bottom of the ſea, accuſtom themſelves, in imitation of the antients, to fill their mouths with oil, which they throw out drop by drop, in proportion as the darkneſs conceals their prey from them. Some of them gueſs at the preſence of the ſhark, or at the abundance of the herring, in thoſe places where the ſea offers them a calm not to be found in the neighbouring latitudes. Some perſons attribute this to the oil which makes it's eſcape from the body of the herring; others ſay that it is preſſed out of the herring by the teeth of the ſhark while he is devouring that fiſh. The ſame method is uſed ſometimes to diſcover the points of rocks concealed by the agitation of the waves, ſometimes to reach land with leſs danger. For this purpoſe ſome ſuſpend behind their boats a parcel of inteſtines filled with the fat of the Fulmar or Petrel, a bird which throws up in it's natural ſtate the oil of the fiſh upon which it feeds. Others, inſtead of this, uſe a jar turned upſide down, from which the oil drops gradually through an opening make in the cork. The terrible element therefore, which hath ſeparated continents from each other; which deluges whole countries; which drives animals and men before it, and which will one day incroach upon their dwellings, may be appeaſed in it's wrath, if a feather dipt in oil be paſſed over it's ſurface. Who knows what may be the conſequence of this diſcovery,

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covery, if we may give that name to a piece of information, the knowlege of which cannot be diſputed with Ariſtotle or Pliny? If a feather dipt in oil can ſmooth the waves, what will not be the effect of long wings conſtantly moiſtened with this fluid, and mechanically adapted to our ſhips?

This idea will not fail of exciting the ridicule of our ſuperficial minded men; but it is not for ſuch that I write. We treat popular opinions with too much contempt. We decide with too much haſte on the poſſibility or impoſſibility of things. In our opinion of Pliny, the naturaliſt, we have paſſed from one extreme to the other. Our anceſtors have granted too much to Ariſtotle, while we perhaps have denied him more than it became men, the moſt informed among whom, hath not ſufficient knowlege either to approve or contradict his book on animals. This diſdain might perhaps be excuſed in a Buffon, a Daubenton, or a Linnæus; but it always excites our indignation when we meet with it in him, who departing from his own ſphere, and neglecting fame which offers itſelf to him, in order to run after that which flies from him, ſhall venture to decide upon the merit of theſe men of genius, with peremptorineſs which would diſguſt us, if even it were ſupported by the moſt ſtriking and leaſt conteſtible claims.

According to natural right, the fiſhery upon the great bank ought to have been common to all mankind; notwithſtanding which the two powers that had formed colonies in North America, have made very little difficulty of appropri-

ating it to themſelves. Spain, who alone could have any claim to it, and who, from the number of her monks, might have pleaded the neceſſity of aſſerting it, entirely gave up the matter at the laſt peace, ſince which time the Engliſh and French are the only nations that frequent theſe latitudes.

In 1773, France ſent there five veſſels, which formed nine thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-five tons, and the crews of which conſiſted of ſixteen hundred and eighty-eight men. Two millions one hundred and forty-one thouſand cod-fiſh were caught, which produced one hundred and twenty-two hogſheads of oil; the entire produce was ſold for 1,421,615 livres *.

The fiſheries of the rival nation were much more conſiderable. Few of thoſe who were employed in it had come from Europe. Moſt of them came from New-England, Nova-Scotia, and from the iſland of Newfoundland itſelf. Their veſſels were ſmall, eaſily managed, riſing little above the ſurface of the water, and not liable to be ſtrongly affected by the winds or the agitation of the waves. Theſe veſſels were manned with ſailors more inured to fatigue, more accuſtomed to bear cold, and more uſed to ſtrict diſcipline. They carried with them a bait infinitely ſuperior to that which was found upon the ſpot. Their fiſhery was therefore infinitely ſuperior to that of the French; but as they had leſs opportunities of getting rid of the green cod than the latter,

* 59,233 l. 19 s. 2 d.

the

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the greater part of the fiſh which they caught was carried to the neighbouring coaſts, where it was converted into dried cod.

This branch of trade is carried on in two different ways. That which is called the wandering fiſhery belongs to veſſels which ſail every year from Europe to Newfoundland, at the end of March, or in April. As they approach the iſland, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, driven by the northern currents towards the ſouth, which is broken to pieces by repeated ſhocks, and melts ſooner or later at the return of the heats. Theſe portions of ice are frequently a league in circumference; they are as high as the loftieſt mountains, and extend above ſixty or eighty fathom under water. When joined to ſmaller pieces, they ſometimes occupy a ſpace of a hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth. Intereſt, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as ſoon as poſſible, that they may have their choice of the harbours moſt favourable to the fiſhery, makes them brave the rigour of the ſeaſons and of the elements, which are all in conſpiracy againſt human induſtry. The moſt formidable rampart erected by military art, the dreadful cannonade of a beſieged town, the terrors of the moſt ſkilful and obſtinate ſea-fight, require leſs intrepidity and experience to encounter them, than theſe enormous floating bulwarks, which the ſea oppoſes to theſe ſmall fleets of fiſhermen. But the moſt inſatiable of all paſſions, the thirſt of gold, ſurmounts every obſtacle, and carries the mariner acroſs theſe mountains of ice

to

to the ſpot where the ſhips are to take in their lading.

THE firſt thing to be done after landing is to to cut wood and erect or repair ſcaffolds. All hands are employed in this work. When it is finiſhed, the company divide; one half of the crew ſtays aſhore to cure the fiſh, and the other goes on board in ſmall boats. The boats deſigned for the fiſhery of the caplain carry four men, and thoſe for the cod three. Theſe laſt boats, of which there is the greateſt number, ſail before it is light, generally at the diſtance of three, four, or five leagues from the coaſt, and return in the evening to the ſcaffolds near the ſea-ſide, where they depoſit the produce of the day.

WHEN one man has taken off the cod's head and gutted it, he gives it to another, who ſlices it and puts it in ſalt, where it remains eight or ten days. After it has been well waſhed, it is laid on gravel, where it is left till it is quite dry. It is then piled up in heaps, and left for ſome days to drain. It is then again laid on the ſtrand, where it continues drying, and takes the colour we ſee it have in Europe.

THERE are no fatigues whatever to be compared with the labours of this fiſhery, which hardly leaves thoſe who work at it four hours reſt in the night. Happily, the ſalubrity of the climate preſerves the health of the people under ſuch ſevere trials; and theſe labours would be thought nothing of, if they were better rewarded by the produce.

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But there are ſome harbours where the ſtrand is at ſo great a diſtance from the ſea, that a great deal of time is loſt in getting to it; and others, in which the bottom is of ſolid rock, and without Varec, ſo that the fiſh do not frequent them. There are others again, where the fiſh grow yellow from a mixture of freſh water with the ſalt; and ſome, in which it is ſcorched by the reverberation of the ſun's rays reflected from the mountains.

Even in the moſt favourable harbours, the people are not always ſure of a ſucceſsful fiſhery. The fiſh cannot abound equally in all parts: it is ſometimes found to the north, ſometimes to the ſouth, and at other times in the middle of the coaſt, according as it is driven by the winds, or attracted by the caplain. The fiſhermen, who happen to fix at a diſtance from the places which the fiſh frequent, are very unfortunate, for their expences are all throw'n away, becauſe it is impoſſible for them to follow the fiſh with all their neceſſary apparatus.

The fiſhery ends about the beginning of September, becauſe at that time the ſun has not power enough to dry the fiſh; but when it has been ſucceſsful, the managers give over before that time, and make the beſt of their way either to the Caribbee Iſlands, or to the Roman Catholic ſtates in Europe, that they may not be deprived of the advantages of the firſt markets, which might be loſt by an over-ſtock.

In 1773, one hundred and four veſſels, which compoſed fifteen thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-one

one tons, and which were manned by ſeven thouſand two hundred and ſixty-three ſailors, were ſent from the ports of France for this fiſhery. Their labours were rewarded by a hundred and ninety thouſand one hundred and ſixty quintals of fiſh, and two thouſand eight hundred and twenty-five hogſheads of oil. Theſe two articles united produced 3,816,580 livres *.

But how hath it happened that an empire, the population of which is immenſe, and it's coaſts very extenſive, that a government which has ſuch conſiderable demands, both for it's provinces in Europe and for it's colonies in the New World; how hath it happened that the moſt important of it's fiſheries hath been reduced to ſuch a trifle? This event hath been brought on by internal and external cauſes.

The cod-fiſh was for a long time overloaded with duties on it's entrance into the kingdom, and other taxes were put upon it's conſumption. It was hoped in 1764, that theſe grievances were going to ceaſe. Unfortunately the council was divided, ſome of it's members objected to the taking off of the duties from the ſalt-fiſh, becauſe other members had declared themſelves againſt the exportation of the brandies made from cyder and perry. Reaſon at length prevailed over theſe objections. The treaſury conſented in 1773 to ſacrifice half of the duties which had till then been required of this branch of induſtry, and two years after they entirely gave up this inconſiderable reſource.

* 159,024l. 3s. 4d.

Salt

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SALT is a very principal article in the cod-fiſhery. This production of the ſea and of the ſun had ariſen to an exceſſive price in France. In 1768 and 1770, fiſhermen were allowed for a year only, and in 1774, for an unlimited time to purchaſe their ſalt from foreigners. This indulgence hath ſince been refuſed to them, but it will be reſtored. The miniſtry will comprehend that it's navigators will never employ, without extreme neceſſity, the ſalt of Spain and Portugal preferably to that of Poitou and Britanny, which is ſo much ſuperior.

WHEN the cod arrives from the north of America, there remains between it's ſeveral layers a conſiderable quantity of undiſſolved ſalt. The farmers of the crown, made for a long time an abuſe of the aſcendant which they had aſſumed in the public reſolutions, in order to have this ſalt prohibited as uſeleſs and even dangerous. A century hath been waſted in ſolicitations and in giving proofs of it's utility, before the government would allow it to be employed, as it is with great advantage in the fiſheries of the dried cod.

MOST of the obſtacles therefore, which a power, not ſufficiently acquainted with it's own intereſts, oppoſed to it's own proſperity, are at length removed. Let us ſee what idea muſt be formed of thoſe which an odious ſpirit of rivalſhip hath given riſe to.

NEWFOUNDLAND had formerly two maſters. By the peace of Utrecht, the property of this iſland was confirmed to Great Britain, and the ſubjects of the court of Verſailles preſerved only the right

right of fiſhing from the Cape of Bonaviſta, turning towards the North as far as Point Rich. But this laſt line of demarkation was not found in any of the charts which had preceded the treaty. The Engliſh geographer Herman Moll was the firſt who noticed it in 1715, and he placed it at Cape Raye.

It was generally believed that it muſt be ſo, when, in 1764, the Britiſh miniſtry pretended, upon the faith of a letter from Prior, who had ſettled the buſineſs of the limits, and of a petition preſented to parliament, in 1716, by the Engliſh fiſhermen, that it was at fifty degrees thirty minutes of latitude that Point Rich ought to be fixed. The council of Louis XIV. immediately agreed with an authority which they might have conteſted: but having themſelves diſcovered in their archives, a manuſcript chart, which had ſerved in the negociation, and which placed Point Rich in forty-nine degrees of latitude, upon the border, and to the north of the bay of the Three Iſlands, they demanded for theſe claims, the ſame deference as they had ſhew'n for thoſe which had been preſented to them. This was reaſonable and juſt; and yet the French, who ventured to frequent the conteſted ſpace, experienced the diſgrace and the loſs of having their boats confiſcated. Such was the ſtate of things, when hoſtilities were again renewed between the two nations. It is to be hoped, that at the enſuing peace, the court of Verſailles will obtain a redreſs of this firſt grievance.

They will alſo undoubtedly attend to another of much greater importance. By the treaties of Utrecht and of Paris, their ſubjects were to enjoy the ſpace which extends between the Capes of Bonaviſta and St. John. Three thouſand Engliſhmen have formed fixed ſettlements there at ſeveral periods, and have thus neceſſarily kept off the navigators who arrived annually from Europe. France hath remonſtrated againſt theſe uſurpations, and hath obtained, that the Britiſh miniſtry ſhould order their fiſhermen to carry their activity elſewhere. This order hath not been carried into execution; nor could it be. Therefore, the court of Verſailles have demanded as an equivalent, the liberty of fiſhing from Point Rich to the iſlands of St. Peter and Miquelon. This conciliatory plan appeared likely to ſucceed; but the diſturbances that have happened, have throw'n every thing into confuſion; ſo that this is alſo an arrangement to be expected at the approaching peace.

That peace will likewiſe inſure to the French navigators, the excluſive fiſhery of that part of Newfoundland which they are allowed to frequent. This right had not been conteſted before the year 1763; the Engliſh had till then contented themſelves with going there in the winter in order to fiſh for ſeal; they had always finiſhed their buſineſs, and quitted the diſtrict before the ſpring. At the above period they began to frequent the ſame harbours which were formerly occupied by their competitors alone. The court of

of Verſailles muſt have been reduced to the humiliation of giving up the coaſts of Labrador, Gaſpé, St. John, and Cape Breton, which abounded in fiſh, before a nation, too proud of it's triumphs, could have ventured to form this new pretenſion. It's admirals carried even the inſolence of victory ſo far, as to forbid the French fiſhermen to fiſh for cod on a Sunday, upon a pretence that the Engliſh fiſhermen abſtained from catching any on that day. We are authoriſed to believe, that the council of St. James's did not approve of theſe enterpriſes, ſo palpably contrary to the ſpirit of the treaties. They were ſenſible that the right which France had reſerved to herſelf in ceding the property of Newfoundland became eluſive, if her fiſhermen could find the places abounding in fiſh occupied by rivals, who being ſettled upon the neighbouring coaſt, were always ſure to arrive there firſt. Nevertheleſs they determined to ſupport, that the enjoyment, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, ought to be common to the two people. They ought to have had more power and more courage than they were poſſeſſed of, to bid defiance to the clamours of oppoſition, and to the complaints which ſuch a ſyſtem of equity muſt neceſſarily excite. But they depended upon the weakneſs of Louis XV. and were not deceived. The circumſtances of the times, and the character of his ſucceſſor, are totally different; this grievance will be redreſſed, as well as many others. It is not even impoſſible, but that the ſtationary fiſheries of this crown may receive ſome augmentation.

By ſtationary fiſhery we are to underſtand, that which is carried on by the Europeans who have ſettlements on thoſe coaſts of America where the cod is moſt plentiful. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fiſhery, becauſe it is attended with much leſs expence, and may be continued much longer. Theſe advantages the French enjoyed, before the errors committed by their government made them loſe the vaſt territories they had in thoſe regions. All the fixed eſtabliſhments left them by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the iſland of St. Peter, and to two iſlands of Miquelon, which they are not even allowed to fortify.

It is ſimple, and natural, that a conqueror ſhould appropriate his conqueſts to himſelf as much as he can, and that he ſhould weaken his enemy, while he aggrandiſes himſelf: but he ſhould never leave ſubſiſting permanent ſubjects of humiliation, which are of no avail to him, and which inſtil hatred into the hearts of thoſe over whom he hath triumphed. The regret we feel on any loſs, diminiſhes and goes off with time. The ſenſe of ſhame becomes daily more poignant, and never ceaſes. If an opportunity ſhould offer of manifeſting itſelf, it then breaks out, with a degree of fury ſo much the greater, as it hath been the longer concealed. Powers of the earth, therefore, be modeſt with reſpect to the terms which you impoſe upon the conquered people, in the monuments by which you mean to perpetuate the memory of your ſucceſs. It is impoſſible to ſubſcribe with ſincerity to an humiliating compact.

There

There are already too many falſe pretences and unjuſt motives for the infringement of treaties, without adding to them one ſo legitimate and ſo urgent, as that of ſhaking off ignominy. Exact only, in proſperity, ſuch ſacrifices as you would ſubmit to without ſhame, in adverſity. A public monument of inſult, and upon which an enemy who is croſſing your capital cannot turn his eyes, without experiencing a deep emotion of indignation, is a perpetual ſtimulus to revenge. If it were ever poſſible, that one of the inſulted nations, in that public ſquare called *La Place des Victoires*, where they are all baſely loaded with chains, by the moſt abject and moſt impudent of all flatteries, ſhould enter victorious into Paris, there is no doubt but that the ſtatue of the proud monarch who approved of this indiſcreet homage, would in an inſtant be pulled to pieces; perhaps, even a ſpirit of reſentment, for a long time ſtifled, would reduce to aſhes the proud city that exhibits ſuch a monument. You may appear crowned with victory, but you ſhould not ſuffer that your foot ſhould be put upon the head of your enemy. If you have been ſucceſsful, conſider that you may experience a reverſe of fortune; and that there is more diſgrace in being one's ſelf obliged to deſtroy a monument, than glory in having erected it. The Engliſh would, perhaps, have withdraw'n their inſpector from one of the ports of France, had they know'n with what impatience he was ſuffered there; and how often the French have ſaid to themſelves: Are we to ſubmit to this humiliation much longer?

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St. Peter hath twenty-five leagues in circumference; it hath a harbour where thirty ſmall veſſels find a ſafe aſylum; a road which is capable of containing about forty ſhips of all ſizes; and coaſts well adapted for the drying of a quantity of cod. In 1773, it contained ſix hundred and four fixt inhabitants, and nearly an equal number of ſailors paſſed their time there in the intervals of the fiſheries.

The two Miquelons, leſs important in every reſpect, had not more than ſix hundred and forty-nine inhabitants; and only one hundred and twenty-ſeven foreign fiſhermen remained there during the winter.

The labours of theſe iſlanders, joined to thoſe of four hundred and fifty men, arrived from Europe upon thirty-five veſſels, produced only thirty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy quintals of cod fiſh, and two hundred and fifty-three hogſheads of oil, which were ſold for 805,490 livres *.

This profit, added to 1,421,615 livres †, which were got by the green cod caught on the Great Bank, and to 3,816,580 livres ‡ produced by the cod dried at Newfoundland itſelf, made the French fiſhery amount, in 1773, to the ſum of 6,033,685 livres §.

Of theſe three products, there were only that of St. Peter, and of Miquelon, which received any increaſe in the following years.

* 33,562 l. 1 s. 8 d.
† 59,233 l. 19 s. 2 d.
‡ 159,024 l. 3 s. 4 d.
§ 251,403 l. 10 s 10 d.

These

These iſlands are only three leagues diſtant from the ſouthern part of Newfoundland. By the treaties, the poſſeſſion of the coaſt is included in this extent. This ſpace ſhould therefore have been in common, or divided between the Engliſh and French fiſhermen, who had an equal right to it; but force, which ſeldom attends to the ſuggeſtions of equity, took every thing to itſelf. Reaſon, or policy, at length gave riſe to more moderate ſentiments; and, in 1776, an equal diſtribution of the canal was agreed to. This alteration enabled St. Peter and the Miquelons to catch, the enſuing year, ſeventy thouſand one hundred and four quintals of dried cod, and ſeventy-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four of green cod.

But this increaſe did not enable France to ſupply the foreign markets, as it did twenty years before. It's fiſhery was ſcarce ſufficient for the conſumption of the kingdom. Nothing, or ſcarce any thing, remained for it's colonies, the wants of which were ſo extenſive.

This important branch of commerce had paſſed entirely into the hands of it's rivals, ſince victory had given to them the North of America. They ſupplied the South of Europe, the Weſt Indies, and even the French iſlands with cod, notwithſtanding the tax of 4 livres * per quintal, with which it had been loaded in order to prevent it's entry; and notwithſtanding a gratuity of thirty-five ſols † per hundred weight, granted

* 3 s. 4 d.

† 1 s. 5½ d.

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to the national fiſhery. Great Britain beheld, with great ſatisfaction, that beſides the conſumptions in it's ſeveral ſettlements, this branch of induſtry yielded annually to it's ſubjects of the Old and of the New world, a conſiderable quantity of ſpecie, and a great plenty of commodities. This object of exportation would have become ſtill more conſiderable, if at the time of the conqueſt the court of London had not had the inhumanity to expel from the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John, the Frenchmen who were ſettled there, who have never yet been replaced, and poſſibly never will be. The ſame bad policy had formerly been followed in Nova Scotia, for it is the property of the jealouſy of ambition, to deſtroy in order to poſſeſs.

Sketch of Nova Scotia. The French ſettle there. Their conduct in this ſettlement.

NOVA SCOTIA, by which at preſent is underſtood, all the coaſts of three hundred leagues in length, included between the limits of New England and the South coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, ſeemed at firſt to have comprehended only the great triangular peninſula ſituated about the middle of this vaſt ſpace. This peninſula, which the French called Acadia, is extremely well ſituated to ſerve as an aſylum to the ſhips coming from the Caribbee Iſlands. It diſplays to them at a diſtance, a great number of excellent ports, where ſhips may enter and go out with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon this coaſt, and ſtill more upon ſmall banks at the diſtance of a few leagues. The neighbouring continent attracts attention by a few furs. It's arid coaſts afford gravel for drying the

the fiſh upon, and the goodneſs of the inland grounds invites to every ſpecies of culture. It's woods are fit for many purpoſes. Though this climate be in the temperate zone, the winters are long and ſevere, and followed by ſudden and exceſſive heats, to which generally ſucceed very thick fogs, that laſt a long time. Theſe circumſtances make this rather a diſagreeable country, though it cannot be reckoned an unwholeſome one.

It was in 1604 that the French ſettled in Acadia, four years before they had built the ſmalleſt hut in Canada. Inſtead of fixing towards the eaſt of the peninſula, where they would have had larger ſeas, an eaſy navigation, and plenty of cod, they choſe a ſmall bay, afterwards called French Bay, which had none of theſe advantages. It has been ſaid, that they were invited by the beauty of Port Royal, where a thouſand ſhips may ride in ſafety from every wind, where there is an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathom of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is more probable that the founders of this colony were led to chuſe this ſituation, from it's vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the excluſive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumſtance: that both the firſt monopolizers, and thoſe who ſucceeded them, took the utmoſt pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom an unſettled diſpoſition, or neceſſity, brought into theſe regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, fiſhing,

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fiſhing, and every kind of culture; chuſing rather to engage the induſtry of theſe adventurers in hunting or in trading with the ſavages.

The miſchiefs ariſing from a falſe ſyſtem of adminiſtration, at length diſcovered the fatal effects of excluſive charters. It would be inconſiſtent with truth and the dignity of hiſtory to ſay, that this happened in France, from any attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when thoſe rights were moſt openly violated. Theſe ſacred rights, which only can inſure the ſafety of the people, while they give a ſanction to the power of kings, were never know'n in France. But in the moſt abſolute governments, a ſpirit of ambition ſometimes effects, what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of juſtice. The miniſters of Louis XIV. who wiſhed, by making their maſter reſpectable, to reflect ſome honour on themſelves, perceived that they ſhould not ſucceed without the ſupport of riches; and that a people to whom nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce. Both theſe reſources had been hitherto precluded in the colonies by the univerſal reſtraints that are always impoſed, when the government interferes improperly in every minute concern. Theſe impediments were at laſt removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able to make uſe of this liberty.

This colony was yet in it's infancy, when the ſettlement, which has ſince become ſo famous under the name of New England, was firſt eſtabliſhed in it's neighbourhood. The rapid ſucceſs

of

of the plantations in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of proſperity did not excite any jealouſy between the two nations. But when they began to ſuſpect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to ſecure to themſelves the ſole property of it, and were unfortunate enough to ſucceed.

At their firſt arrival in Acadia, they had found the peninſula, as well as the foreſts of the neighbouring continent, peopled with ſmall ſavage nations, who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other ſavage nations, they were more ſociable in their manners. The miſſionaries eaſily inſinuating themſelves among them, had ſo far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthuſiaſts of them. At the ſame time that they taught them their religion, they inſpired them with that hatred which they themſelves entertained for the Engliſh name. This fundamental article of their new worſhip, being that which made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on their ſenſes, and the only one that favoured their paſſion for war, they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refuſed to make any kind of exchange with the Engliſh, but alſo frequently diſturbed and ravaged the frontiers of that nation. Their attacks became more frequent, more obſtinate, and more regular, after they had choſen St. Caſteins, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander, who was ſettled among them, had

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had married one of their women, and conformed in every reſpect to their mode of life.

When the Engliſh ſaw that all efforts, either to reconcile the ſavages, or to deſtroy them in their foreſts, were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which they looked upon, with reaſon, as the only cauſe of all theſe calamities. Whenever the leaſt hoſtility took place between the two mother-countries, the peninſula was attacked. Unable to procure any aſſiſtance from Canada, on account of it's diſtance, and having but a feeble defence in Port-Royal, which was only ſurrounded by a few palliſades, it was conſtantly taken. It undoubtedly afforded ſome ſatisfaction to the New-Englanders to ravage this colony, and to retard it's progreſs; but ſtill this was not ſufficient to remove the ſuſpicions excited by a nation, always more formidable by what ſhe is able to do, than by what ſhe really does. Obliged as they were, however unwillingly, to reſtore their conqueſt at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great Britain ſhould acquire ſuch a ſuperiority as would enable her to diſpenſe with this reſtitution. The events of the war on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion brought on the deciſive moment; and the court of Verſailles was for ever deprived of a poſſeſſion of which it had never know'n the importance.

France is compelled to cede Nova Scotia to England.

The ardour which the Engliſh had ſhew'n for the poſſeſſion of this territory did not manifeſt itſelf afterwards in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very ſlight fortification

fortification at Port Royal, which they called Annapolis, in honour of Queen Anne, they contented themſelves with putting a very ſmall garriſon in it. The indifference ſhew'n by the government was adopted by the nation, a circumſtance not uſual in a free country. Not more than five or ſix Engliſh families went over to Acadia, which ſtill remained inhabited by the firſt coloniſts, who were only perſuaded to ſtay upon a promiſe made them of never being compelled to bear arms againſt their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cheriſhed by the government, reſpected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a ſeries of proſperities which had rendered their name illuſtrious, and aggrandized their power, they poſſeſſed that patriotic ſpirit which is the effect of ſucceſs. They eſteemed it an honour to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians, therefore, who, in ſubmitting to a new yoke, had ſwor'n never to bear arms againſt their former ſtandards, were called the French neutrals.

WHAT a powerful inducement is this example of attachment, as well as a multitude of others which have preceded and followed it, to the ſovereign of France, to exert himſelf inceſſantly for the happineſs of ſuch a nation; of a nation ſo mild, ſo proud, and ſo generous? Treaſon hath been ſometimes the crime of an individual, or of a particular ſociety, but it was never that of the ſubjects in general. The French are the people who

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who know how to ſuffer with infinite patience the longeſt and moſt cruel vexations, and who demonſtrate the moſt ſincere, the moſt ſtriking tranſports of gratitude, at the leaſt token of the clemency of their ſovereign. They love and cheriſh him; and it depends upon him only to be adored by them. The ſovereign whom they ſhould deſpiſe would be the moſt contemptible of men; he whom they ſhould hate would be the worſt of ſovereigns. Notwithſtanding all the efforts that have been made, during a ſeries of ages, to ſtifle in our hearts the ſentiment of patriotiſm, it exiſts not, perhaps, among any people in a more lively and energetic manner. Witneſs our mirth at thoſe glorious events, which, however, will not relieve our miſery. What ſhould we not be, if public felicity were to ſucceed to the glory of our arms?

THERE were twelve or thirteen hundred Acadians ſettled in the capital; the reſt were diſperſed in the neighbouring country. No magiſtrate was ever appointed to rule over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new ſovereign ſeemed to have forgotten them; and they were equally ſtrangers to him.

Manners of the French who remained ſubject to the Engliſh government in Nova Scotia.

HUNTING, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might ſtill have ſupplied it with ſubſiſtence, had no further attraction for a ſimple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been begun in the marſhes and the low lands, by repelling the ſea, and rivers, which

which covered theſe plains, with dikes. Theſe grounds yielded fifty times as much as before, and afterwards fifteen or twenty times as much at leaſt. Wheat and oats ſucceeded beſt in them, but they likewiſe produced rye, barley, and maize. There were alſo potatoes in great plenty, the uſe of which was become common.

At the ſame time the immenſe meadows were covered with numerous flocks. Sixty thouſand head of horned cattle were computed there; and moſt of the families had ſeveral horſes, though the tillage was carried on by oxen.

The habitations, built entirely with wood, were extremely convenient, and furniſhed as neatly as a ſubſtantial farmer's houſe in Europe. The people bred a great dreat deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, which was in general wholeſome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cyder, to which they ſometimes added rum.

Their uſual clothing was in general the produce of their own flax and hemp, or the fleeces of their own ſheep. With theſe they made common linens and coarſe cloths. If any of them had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louiſbourg, and gave in exchange, corn, cattle, or furs.

The neutral French had no other articles to diſpoſe of among their neighbours, and made ſtill fewer exchanges among themſelves, becauſe each ſeparate family was able, and had been uſed to provide for it's wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper currency, which was ſo common

mon throughout the reſt of North America. Even the ſmall quantity of ſpecie, which had ſtolen into the colony, did not promote that circulation, which is the greateſt advantage that can be derived from it.

THEIR manners were of courſe extremely ſimple. There never was a cauſe, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature eſtabliſhed at Annapolis. Whatever little differences aroſe from time to time among them, were amicably adjuſted by their elders. All their public acts were draw'n by their paſtors, who had likewiſe the keeping of their wills, for which, and their religious ſervices, the inhabitants voluntarily gave them a twenty-ſeventh part of their harveſts.

THESE were plentiful enough to ſupply more than a ſufficiency to fulfil every act of liberality. Real miſery was entirely unknow'n, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt; and good was univerſally diſpenſed, without oſtentation on the part of the giver, and without humiliating the perſon who received. Theſe people were, in a word, a ſociety of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all thoſe connections of gallantry which are ſo often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an inſtance in this ſociety of an unlawful commerce between the two ſexes. This evil was pre-

vented by early marriages; for no one paſſed his youth in a ſtate of celibacy. As ſoon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a houſe, broke up the lands about it, ſowed them, and ſupplied him with all the neceſſaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had choſen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and proſpered like the others. They altogether amounted to eighteen thouſand ſouls.

WHO will not be affected with the innocent manners, and the tranquillity of this fortunate colony? Who will not wiſh for the duration of it's happineſs? Who will not conſtruct, in imagination, an impenetrable wall, that may ſeparate theſe coloniſts from their unjuſt and turbulent neighbours? The calamities of the people have no period; but, on the contrary, the end of their felicity is always at hand. A long ſeries of favourable events is neceſſary to raiſe them from miſery, while one inſtant is ſufficient to plunge them into it. May the Acadians be excepted from this general curſe. But alas! it is to be feared that they will not.

GREAT BRITAIN perceived, in 1749, of what conſequence the poſſeſſion of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace, which neceſſarily left a great number of men without employment, furniſhed an opportunity, by the diſbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vaſt and fertile territory. The Britiſh miniſtry offered particular advantages to all perſons who choſe to go over and ſettle in Acadia. Every ſoldier, ſailor, and

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and workman, was to have fifty acres of land for himſelf, and ten for every perſon he carried over in his family. All non-commiſſioned officers were allowed eighty for themſelves, and 15 for their wives and children; enſigns 200; lieutenants 300; captains 400; and all officers of a higher rank 600; together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax free for the firſt ten years, and never to pay above one livre, two ſols, ſix deniers*, for fifty acres. Beſide this, the government engaged to advance or reimburſe the expences of paſſage, to build houſes, to furniſh all the neceſſary inſtruments for fiſhery or agriculture, and to defray the expences of ſubſiſtence for the firſt year. Theſe encouragements determined three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty perſons, in the month of May 1749, to go to America, rather than run the riſque of ſtarving in Europe.

It was intended that theſe new inhabitants ſhould form a ſettlement to the ſouth-eaſt of Acadia, in a place which the ſavages formerly called Chebucto, and the Engliſh Halifax. This ſituation was preferred to ſeveral others where the ſoil was better, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing in it's neighbourhood an excellent cod fiſhery, and fortifying one of the fineſt harbours in America. But as it was the part of the country moſt favourable for the chace, the Engliſh were obliged to diſpute it with the Micmac Indians, by whom it was moſt frequented. Theſe ſa-

* About one ſhilling.

vages

vages defended with obſtinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not without very great loſſes that the Engliſh drove them from their poſſeſſions.

This war was not entirely finiſhed, when ſome diſturbances began to break out among the neutral French. Theſe people, whoſe manners were ſo ſimple, and who enjoyed ſuch liberty, had already perceived that their independence muſt neceſſarily ſuffer ſome incroachments from any power that ſhould turn it's views to the countries they inhabited. To this apprehenſion was added, that of ſeeing their religion in danger. Their prieſts, either heated by their own enthuſiaſm, or ſecretly inſtigated by the governors of Canada, made them believe all they choſe to ſay againſt the Engliſh, whom they called heretics. This word, which has ſo powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where lands were offered them. This reſolution many of them executed immediately, without conſidering the conſequences of it; the reſt were preparing to follow as ſoon as they had provided for their ſafety. The Engliſh government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always baſe and cruel in thoſe whoſe power gives them an opportunity of purſuing milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming Engliſh ſubjects, they called together all the remaining inhabitants, and put them on board of ſhip. They

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were conveyed to the other Engliſh colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

Such are the effects of national jealouſies, and of the rapaciouſneſs of government, to which men, as well as their property, become a prey. What our enemies loſe is reckoned an advantage, what they gain is looked upon as a loſs. When a town cannot be taken, it is ſtarved; when it cannot be kept, it is burnt to aſhes, or it's foundations raſed. A ſhip or a fortified town is blow'n up, rather than the ſailors or the garriſon will ſurrender. A deſpotic government ſeparates it's enemies from it's ſlaves by immenſe deſerts, to prevent the irruptions of the one, and the emigrations of the other. Thus it is that Spain has rather choſen to make a wilderneſs of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide it's riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the ſpice trade. They have frequently throw'n whole cargoes into the ſea rather than they would ſell them at a low price. France, rather choſe to give up Louiſiana to the Spaniards, than to let it fall into the hands of the Engliſh; and England deſtroyed the neutral French inhabitants of Acadia, to prevent their returning to France. Can it be ſaid after this, that policy and ſociety were inſtituted for the happineſs of mankind? Yes, they were inſtituted to ſcreen the wicked, and to ſecure the powerful.

Since

Preſent ſtate of Nova-Scotia.

SINCE the emigration of a people who owed their happineſs to their virtuous obſcurity, Nova Scotia remained in a languid ſtate. Envy, which had depopulated this country, ſeemed to have ſhed it's baneful influence over it. The puniſhment of injuſtice fell at leaſt upon the authors of it. At laſt a few unfortunate people were driven there by the various calamities they experienced in Europe. They amounted in 1769 to twenty-ſix thouſand; moſt of them were diſperſed, and were only collected in any number at Hallifax, Annapolis, and Lunenbourg. This laſt colony, formed by Germans, was the moſt flouriſhing. It owed it's improvements to that fondneſs for labour, to that well regulated œconomy which are the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of a wiſe and warlike nation, who contenting themſelves with defending their own country, ſeldom leave it, except to go and cultivate diſtricts which they are not ambitious of conquering.

IN the year 1769, the colony ſent out fourteen veſſels and one hundred and forty-eight boats, which together amounted to ſeven thouſand three hundred and twenty-four tons, and received twenty-two veſſels and one hundred and twenty boats, which together made up ſeven thouſand and ſix tons. They conſtructed three ſloops, which did not exceed one hundred and ten tons burthen.

THEIR exportation for Great Britain and for the other parts of the globe, did not amount to more than 729,850 livres, 12 ſols, 9 deniers *.

* About 30,410l. 8s. 10d.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe encouragements, which the mother-country had inceſſantly beſtowed upon this colony, in order to accelerate it's cultures; it had itſelf borrowed 450,000 livres †, for which it paid an intereſt of ſix per cent. It had not then any paper currency, and hath not uſed any ſince.

THE troubles which at preſent agitate North America, have not extended to Nova Scotia. It hath even draw'n ſome advantages from them. It's population hath ariſen to forty-thouſand ſouls, by the arrival of ſome cautious or puſillanimous citizens who fled from the horrors of war. The neceſſity of ſupplying the wants of the Britiſh armies and fleets hath occaſioned a great increaſe of proviſions. An immenſe quantity of ſpecie circulated by the troops, hath given life to every thing, and communicated a rapid motion to men and things.

SHOULD the other colonies at length detach themſelves from the mother-country, and ſhould it retain Nova Scotia, this province, which was very inſignificant, will become very important. It is ſupplied with every advantage that may inſure it's proſperity. It's paſtures are proper for the breeding of cattle, and it's lands for the cultivation of corn, and eſpecially for the growing of flax and hemp. There are few coaſts know'n to be ſo favourable for large fiſheries, and it's boats can with eaſe perform ſeven voyages to the great bank of Newfoundland, while thoſe of New

† 18,750l.

England

England can only perform five, and with a great deal of difficulty. The Engliſh iſlands will furniſh it with a certain, eaſy, and almoſt excluſive mart for it's merchandize.

THERE can be no fear of any invaſion, becauſe Halliſax, which was formerly defended only by a few batteries properly or improperly placed, is at preſent ſurrounded by good fortifications which may ſtill be increaſed.

Foundation of New-England.

NEW-ENGLAND, like the mother-country, has ſignalized itſelf by many acts of violence; and has been actuated by the ſame turbulent ſpirit. It took it's riſe in troubleſome times, and it's infant ſtate was diſturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was diſcovered in the beginning of the laſt century, and called North-Virginia; but no Europeans ſettled there till the year 1608. The firſt colony, which was weak and ill-directed, did not ſucceed, and for ſome time after, there were only a few adventurers who came over at times in the ſummer, built themſelves temporary huts for the ſake of trading with the ſavages, and like them, diſappeared again for the reſt of the year. Fanaticiſm, which had depopulated America to the ſouth, was deſtined to repeople it in the north. Some Engliſh Preſbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that univerſal aſylum of liberty, reſolved to found a church for their ſect in the new hemiſphere. They therefore purchaſed, in 1621, the charter of the Engliſh North-Virginia company; for they were not reduced to ſuch a ſtate of poverty,

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verty, as to be obliged to wait till proſperity became the reward of their virtues.

On the 6th of September 1621, they embarked at Plymouth, to the number of 120 perſons, under the guidance of enthuſiam, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter, and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy proſpect to men already exhauſted with the fatigues of their voyage. Near one half periſhed either by cold, the ſcurvy, or diſtreſs; the reſt were kept alive, by that ſtrength of character which they had acquired under the perſecution of epiſcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to droop, when it was revived by the arrival of ſixty ſavage warriors, who came to them in the ſpring, headed by their chief. Freedom ſeemed to exult that ſhe had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two ſuch different colonies; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendſhip and protection. The old inhabitants aſſigned for ever to the new ones all the lands in the neighbourhood of the ſettlement they had formed under the name of New-Plymouth; and one of the ſavages, who underſtood a little Engliſh, ſtayed to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and inſtruct them in the manner of fiſhing upon their coaſt.

This humanity enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with ſeeds, with domeſtic animals, and with every aſſiſtance they wanted. At firſt the ſettlement advanced

vanced but ſlowly, ſince in 1629, it contained no more than three hundred perſons: but the perſecution of the Puritans, which increaſed daily in England, haſtened the augmentation of their number in America. Such multitudes of them arrived the following year, that it became neceſſary to diſperſe them. The colonies which they eſtabliſhed formed the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay. The colonies of New Hampſhire, Connecticut, and of Rhode Iſland, ſoon ſprang up from this ſettlement, and theſe were ſo many ſeparate ſtates, each of which obtained from the court of London a diſtinct charter.

THE blood of martyrs, hath ever been in all places, and at all times, a ſource of proſelytiſm. A few eccleſiaſtics only, deprived of their benefices on account of their opinions, had at firſt paſſed into America, and a few obſcure ſectaries, whoſe new tenets attracted numbers from among the people. The emigrations became gradually more common amongſt other claſſes of citizens, and in proceſs of time men of the firſt rank, who had been draw'n into Puritaniſm by ambition, humour, or conſcience, thought of ſecuring to themſelves an aſylum in thoſe diſtant climates. They had cauſed houſes to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cauſe of civil and religious liberty ſhould prove abortive. The ſame fanatical ſpirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother-country, kept the colony in a ſtate of ſubordination, or rather a ſeverity of manners, had the ſame effect as laws in a ſavage country.

THE

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Form of government eſtabliſhed at New-England.

THE inhabitants of New-England lived peaceably for ſome time without thinking of ſettling their felicity upon a firm baſis. Not that their charter had not authorized them to eſtabliſh any mode of government they might chuſe, but theſe enthuſiaſts did not think of it; and government did not pay ſufficient attention to them to urge them to ſecure their own tranquillity. At length they grew ſenſible of the neceſſity of giving ſome conſiſtency to their colony. At this period it was agreed, that there ſhould be an aſſembly holden every year, the deputies of which ſhould be choſen by the people, in which none but thoſe who were members of the eſtabliſhed church could have a ſeat, and over which a chief was to preſide, without any diſtinct authority. Two remarkable regulations were at the ſame time made: the firſt, ſtated the price of corn, and by the ſecond the ſavages were deprived of all the lands which they ſhould not cultivate; and all Europeans were prohibited, under a heavy penalty, to ſell them any ſtrong liquors or warlike ſtores.

THE national council were charged with the regulation of public affairs. They were alſo obliged to determine upon all ſuits, but by the lights of reaſon alone, and without the aſſiſtance or embarraſſments of any code.

NEITHER were any criminal laws inſtituted; but thoſe of the Jews were adopted. Witchcraft, blaſphemy, adultery, and falſe teſtimony, were puniſhed with death. Children, who were ſo unnatural as to ſtrike, or to curſe the authors of their being, drew upon themſelves the ſame puniſhment.

niſhment. All perſons who were detected either in lying, drunkenneſs, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped; and amuſements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes. Swearing, and the violation of the ſabbath, were expiated by a heavy fine. Another indulgence allowed, was, to atone by a fine for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a raſh oath.

It is alſo know'n, that government forbad, on pain of death, the Puritans to worſhip images; and that the ſame puniſhment was decreed againſt Roman Catholic prieſts, who ſhould return into the colony after having been baniſhed.

Fanaticiſm occaſions great calamities in New-England.

The unfortunate members of the colony, who, leſs violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magiſtrate in matters of religion, were the objects of perſecution. This was conſidered as blaſphemy by thoſe very divines who had rather choſen to quit their country than to ſhew any deference to epiſcopal authority. By that natural propenſity of the human heart, which leads men from the love of independence to that of tyranny, they had changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only ſeemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themſelves, in order to deny it to others. This ſyſtem of intoleration was ſupported by the ſervices of the law, which attempted to put a ſtop to every difference in opinion, by inflicting capital puniſhment on all who diſſented. Thoſe who were either convicted, or even ſuſpected of entertaining ſentiments of toleration, were expoſed to ſuch cruel oppreſſions, that they were forced to fly from their firſt

aſylum,

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asylum, and seek refuge in another less exposed to disturbances.

This intemperate religious zeal extended itself to matters in themselves of the greatest indifference. A proof of this is found in the following public declaration, transcribed from the registers of the colony:

"It is a circumstance universally acknowleged, that the custom of wearing long hair, after the manner of immoral persons and of the savage Indians, can only have been introduced into England, but in sacrilegious contempt of the express command of God, who declares, that it is a shameful practice for any man who has the least care for his soul to wear long hair. As this abomination excites the indignation of all pious persons; we, the magistrates, in our zeal for the purity of the faith, do expressly and authentically declare, that we condemn the impious custom of letting the hair grow; a custom which we look upon to be very indecent and dishoneſt, which horribly disguises men, and is offensive to modest and sober persons, in as much as it corrupts good manners. We, therefore, being justly incensed against this scandalous custom, do desire, advise, and earnestly request all the elders of our continent, zealously to shew their aversion from this odious practice, to exert all their power to put a stop to it, and especially to take care that the members of their churches be not infected with it; in order that those persons, who, notwithstanding these rigorous prohibitions, and the

"means

"means of correction, that ſhall be uſed on this "account, ſhall ſtill perſiſt in this cuſtom, may "have both God and man at the ſame time "againſt them."

THIS ſeverity, which a man exerciſes againſt himſelf, or againſt his fellow-creatures, and which makes him firſt the victim, then the oppreſſor, ſoon exerted itſelf againſt the Quakers. They were whipped, baniſhed, and impriſoned. The proud ſimplicity of theſe new enthuſiaſts, who in the midſt of tortures and ignominy praiſed God, and called for bleſſings upon men, inſpired a reverence for their perſons and opinions, and gained them a number of proſelytes. This circumſtance exaſperated their perſecutors, and hurried them on to the moſt atrocious acts of violence. They cauſed five of them, who had returned clandeſtinely from baniſhment, to be hanged. It ſeemed as if the Engliſh had come to America to exerciſe upon their own countrymen the ſame cruelties the Spaniards had uſed againſt the Indians; whether it was that the change of climate had rendered the Europeans more ferocious; or that the fury of religious zeal can only be extinguiſhed in the deſtruction of it's apoſtles and it's martyrs. This ſpirit of perſecution was, however, at laſt ſuppreſſed by the interpoſition of the mother-country, from whence it had been brought.

A PEOPLE, whoſe character was naturally diſpoſed to melancholy, were become gloomy and ſtern. The blood of their monarch was ſtill before them. Some of them lamented in ſecret this great aſſaſſination, others would willingly

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have celebrated it as a feſtival. The nation was divided between two violent parties. On one hand revenge was meditated; on the other, it was endeavoured to prevent it by informations, which were always followed by exile, impriſonment, or capital puniſhment. Reciprocal miſtruſt prevailed between fathers and children, and between friends. The ſuſpicious tyrant was ſurrounded by ſuſpicious courtiers, who kept up his apprehenſions either to raiſe themſelves to the high poſts of the ſtate, or to expel their enemies or their rivals from them. The ax was ſuſpended over every head. The frequency of rebellions occaſioned a frequency of executions, and theſe repeated executions of illuſtrious as well as of obſcure citizens, perpetually maintained the popular terror. At length Cromwell diſappeared. Enthuſiaſm, hypocriſy, and fanaticiſm, which compoſed his character; factions, rebellions, and proſcriptions were all buried with him, and England began to have the proſpect of calmer days. Charles the Second, at his reſtoration, introduced among his ſubjects a ſocial turn, a taſte for convivial pleaſures and diverſions, and for all thoſe amuſements he had been engaged in while he was travelling from one court to another in Europe, to endeavour to regain the crown which his father had loſt upon a ſcaffold. The propagators of his principles were a multitude of women of gallantry, of corrupt favourites, and licentious men of wit. In a ſhort time he brought on a general change of manners; and nothing but ſuch a revolution could poſſibly have ſecured the tranquil-

lity of his government upon a throne ſtained with blood. He was one of thoſe voluptuaries, whom the love of ſenſual pleaſures ſometimes excites to ſentiments of compaſſion and humanity. Moved with the ſufferings of the Quakers, he put a ſtop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguiſh the ſpirit of perſecution that prevailed in America.

THE colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the ſon of that Sir Henry Vane, who had ſuch a remarkable ſhare in the diſturbances of his country. This obſtinate and enthuſiaſtic young man, in every thing reſembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himſelf, or to ſuffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obſcure and obſolete queſtions of grace and free will. The diſputes upon theſe points ran very high, and would probably have plunged the colony into a civil war, if ſeveral of the ſavage nations united, had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the diſputants, and to maſſacre great numbers of them. The coloniſts, heated with their theological conteſts, paid at firſt very little attention to this conſiderable loſs. But the danger at length became ſo urgent and ſo general, that all took up arms. As ſoon as the enemy was repulſed, the colony reſumed it's former diſſentions; and this phrenzy manifeſted itſelf in 1692, by ſuch atrocious acts of violence, as were ſcarce ever recorded in hiſtory.

THERE lived in a town of New England, called Salem, two young women, who were ſubject to convulſions, accompanied with extraordinary ſymptoms.

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ſymptoms. Their father, miniſter of the church, thought that they were bewitched; and having in conſequence caſt his ſuſpicions upon an Indian girl, who lived in his houſe, he compelled her by harſh treatment to confeſs that ſhe was a witch. Other women upon hearing this, ſeduced by the pleaſure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulſions which proceeded only from the nature of their ſex, were owen to the ſame cauſe. Three citizens, caſually named, were immediately throw'n into priſon, accuſed of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left expoſed to wild beaſts and birds of prey. A few days after, ſixteen other perſons, together with a counſellor, who becauſe he refuſed to plead againſt them, was ſuppoſed to ſhare in their guilt, ſuffered in the ſame manner. From this inſtant, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with theſe horrid and gloomy ſcenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modeſty, fortune, honour, virtue, and the moſt dignified employments of the ſtate, were no ſecurity againſt the ſuſpicions of a people infatuated with viſionary ſuperſtition. Children of ten years of age were put to death, young girls were ſtripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft ſearched for upon their bodies with the moſt indecent curioſity; thoſe ſpots of the ſcurvy which age impreſſes upon the bodies of old men, were taken for evident ſigns of the infernal power. Fanaticiſm, wickedneſs and vengeance united, ſelected their victims at pleaſure. In default of witneſſes, torments were employed to extort confeſſions

feſſions dictated by the executioners themſelves. If the magiſtrates, tired with executions, refuſed to puniſh, they were themſelves accuſed of the crimes they tolerated; the very miniſters of religion raiſed falſe witneſſes againſt them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorſe excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror and conſternation, of every kind, increaſed theſe prodigies of folly and horror. The priſons were filled, the gibbets left ſtanding, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehenſions. The moſt prudent, quitted a country ſtained with the blood of it's inhabitants; and thoſe that remained wiſhed only for peace in the grave. In a word, nothing leſs than the total and immediate ſubverſion of the colony was expected, when on a ſudden, in the height of the ſtorm, the waves ſubſided, and a calm enſued. All eyes were opened at once, and the exceſs of the evil awakened the minds which it had at firſt ſtupified. Bitter and painful remorſe was the immediate conſequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general faſt, and public prayers were offered up to aſk forgiveneſs for the preſumption of having ſuppoſed that heaven could have been pleaſed with ſacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

Posterity will, probably, never know exactly what was the cauſe or remedy of this dreadful diſorder. It had, perhaps, it's firſt origin in the melancholy, which theſe perſecuted enthuſiaſts had brought with them from their own country, which had increaſed with the ſcurvy they had

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contracted at ſea, and had gathered freſh ſtrength from the vapours and exhalations of a ſoil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniences and hardſhips inſeparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceaſed like all other epidemical diſtempers, exhauſted by it's very communication; as all the diſorders of the imagination are expelled in the tranſports of a delirium. A perfect calm ſucceeded this agitation; and the Puritans of New England have never ſince been ſeized with ſo gloomy a fit of enthuſiaſm.

But though the colony has renounced the perſecuting ſpirit which hath ſtained all religious ſects with blood, it has preſerved ſome ſtrong marks of that fanaticiſm and ferociouſneſs which had ſignalized the melancholy days in which it took it's riſe.

The ſmall-pox, which is leſs frequent, but more deſtructive, in America than it is in Europe, occaſioned, in 1721, inexpreſſible ravages in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay. This calamity ſuggeſted the idea of inoculation. In order to prove the efficacy of this fortunate preſervative, a ſkilful and courageous phyſician inoculated his wife, his children, his ſervants, and himſelf. He was immediately inſulted, conſidered as an infernal monſter, and threatened with aſſaſſination. Theſe outrages not having been able to prevent a very promiſing young man from having recourſe to this ſalutary practice, a wicked, ſuperſtitious perſon got up to his window in the night-time,

time, and threw a grenade into his room, filled with combuſtible materials.

The moſt reaſonable among the citizens were not diſguſted with theſe atrocious acts; and their indignation was exerted rather againſt thoſe bold ſpirits, who were accuſed of preferring the ſkill of man to the care of providence. The people were confirmed by theſe extravagant doctrines, in the reſolution of rejecting a novelty, which was to draw down upon the whole ſtate, the infallible and terrible effects of the divine wrath. The magiſtrates, who were apprehenſive of an inſurrection, ordered the phyſicians to aſſemble; and they, either from conviction, puſillanimity, or policy, declared inoculation dangerous. It was prohibited by a bill; which was received with unparalleled applauſe.

Europeans, you feel your hair riſing on your heads; you ſhudder with horror; and you have forgotten the obſtacles which this ſalutary practice met with among yourſelves; and you do not conſider, that two hundred years ago you would have committed the ſame outrages. Acknowlege therefore the important ſervices you have received from the progreſs of ſcience; and entertain that reſpect and gratitude for the promoters of it, which you owe to uſeful men who have preſerved you from ſo many crimes, which ignorance and ſuperſtition would otherwiſe have made you commit.

A few years after, a new ſcene was exhibited, ſtill more atrocious. For a long time paſt an odious reward had been granted in theſe pro-

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vinces, to ſuch of the coloniſts as ſhould put an Indian to death. This reward was increaſed in 1724 to 2250 livres *. John Lovewell, encouraged by ſo conſiderable a premium, formed a conſpiracy of men as ferocious as himſelf, to go in queſt of the ſavages. One day he diſcovered ten of them quietly ſleeping round a large fire. He murdered them, carried their ſcalps to Boſton, and received the promiſed reward. After this, have you, ye Anglo-Americans, any reproaches to make to the Spaniards? Have they ever done, or could they poſſibly ever do, any thing more inhuman? And yet you were men, civilized men, and you boaſted of being Chriſtians. No, you were rather monſters, fit to be exterminated; you were monſters, againſt whom a league that might have been formed, would have been leſs criminal than the one that Lovewell formed againſt the ſavages.

[The author here introduces the ſtory of Polly Baker, who was brought before the magiſtrates, and convicted the fifth time of having had a baſtard child. He gives the ſpeech ſhe is ſaid to have made on this occaſion at full length. But as this ſpeech is in the hands of every Engliſh reader, the tranſlator has judged it unneceſſary to ſwell his tranſlation with it. The author's reaſoning upon it is as follows:]

This ſpeech produced an affecting change in the minds of all the audience. She was not only acquitted of either penalty or corporal puniſh-

* 93 l. 15 s.

ment,

ment, but her triumph was ſo complete, that one of her judges married her. So ſuperior is the voice of reaſon to all the powers of ſtudied eloquence. But popular prejudice has reſumed it's influence; whether it be, that the repreſentations of nature alone are often ſtifled by an attention to political advantages, or to the benefit of ſociety; or that, under the Engliſh government, where celibacy is not enjoined by religion, there is leſs excuſe for an illicit commerce between the ſexes, than in thoſe countries where the clergy, the nobility, luxury, poverty, and the ſcandalous example given by the court and the church, all concur in degrading and corrupting the married ſtate, in rendering it burthenſome.

New England has ſome remedy againſt bad laws in the conſtitution of it's mother-country, where the people who have the legiſlative power in their own hands are at liberty to correct abuſes; and it has others derived from it's ſituation, which open a vaſt field to induſtry and population.

Extent, natural hiſtory, fiſheries, population, cultures, manufactures, and exportations of New England.

This colony, bounded on the North by Canada, on the Weſt by New York, and on the Eaſt and South by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles along the ſea coaſts, and upwards of fifty miles in the inland parts.

The clearing of the lands is not directed by chance as in the other provinces. This matter from the firſt was ſubjected to laws which are ſtill religiouſly obſerved. No citizen whatever has the liberty of ſettling even upon unoccupied land. The government, deſirous of preſerving

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all it's members from the inroads of the ſavages, and of placing them in a condition to ſhare in the protection of a well-regulated ſociety, hath ordered that whole villages ſhould be farmed at once. As ſoon as ſixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a ſchool-maſter, the general aſſembly allot them a ſituation, and permit them to have two repreſentatives in the legiſlative body of the colony. The diſtrict aſſigned them always borders upon the land already cleared, and generally contains ſix thouſand ſquare acres. Theſe new people chuſe the ſituation moſt convenient for their habitation, which is uſually of a ſquare figure. The church is placed in the center; the coloniſts divide the land among themſelves, and each incloſes his property with a hedge. Some woods are reſerved for a common. It is thus that New England is conſtantly enlarging it's territory, though it ſtill continues to make one complete and well-conſtituted province.

THOUGH the colony be ſituated in the midſt of the temperate zone, yet the climate is not ſo mild as that of ſome European provinces, which are under the ſame parallel of latitude. The winters are longer and colder; the ſummers ſhorter and hotter. The ſky is commonly clear, and the rains more plentiful than laſting. The air has grow'n purer ſince it's circulation has been made free by cutting down the woods; and malignant vapours, which at firſt carried off ſome of the inhabitants, are no longer complained of.

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THE country is divided into four provinces, which at firſt had no connection with one another. The neceſſity of maintaining an armed force againſt the ſavages, obliged them to form a confederacy in 1643, when they took the name of the United Colonies. In conſequence of this league, two deputies from each eſtabliſhment uſed to meet in a ſtated place, to deliberate upon the common affairs of New England, according to the inſtructions they had received from the aſſembly by which they were ſent. This aſſociation was not in any manner repugnant to the right which each of it's members had, to act in every reſpect as he choſe.

THEY were almoſt as much independent of the mother-country. When the ſettlement was allowed to be made, it had been agreed that their code of laws ſhould not contradict, in any reſpect, the legiſlation of the mother-country; that the judging of any capital crime committed upon their territory, ſhould be reſerved for it; and that their whole trade ſhould be centered in it's ports. None of theſe engagements were fulfilled; and other obligations, of leſs importance, were equally neglected. The ſpirit of republicaniſm had already acquired ſo great an influence, as to prevent theſe arrangements from being conſidered as binding. The coloniſts limited their ſubmiſſion to the acknowleging, in a vague manner, the king of England to be their ſovereign.

MASSACHUSET, the moſt flouriſhing of the four provinces, indulged itſelf in greater liberties than the others, and did it openly. This haughty behaviour

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haviour drew the reſentment of Charles II. upon them. In 1684 this monarch took away the charter which had been granted to them by his father. He eſtabliſhed an almoſt arbitrary government, and ventured to levy taxes for his own uſe. Deſpotiſm did not decreaſe under his ſucceſſor. Accordingly, on the firſt intelligence of his being dethroned, his deputy was arreſted, put in irons, and ſent back to Europe.

William III. though very well ſatisfied with this ardent zeal, did not reſtore to the Maſſachuſets their antient privileges, according to their deſires, and, perhaps, to their wiſhes. It is true that he reſtored them a charter, but a charter which was in nothing reſembling the firſt.

By the new charter, the governor appointed by the court, was to be in poſſeſſion of the excluſive right of convening, proroguing, or diſſolving the national aſſembly. It was he alone who could give a ſanction to the laws that were decreed, and to the taxes impoſed by the aſſembly. The nomination of every military employment belonged to this commandant. It was he aſſiſted by the council, who appointed the magiſtrates. The other leſs important places could not be diſpoſed of without his conſent. The public treaſury was never opened but by his order, confirmed by the concurrence of the council. His authority was likewiſe extended to ſome other matters, which put a great reſtraint upon liberty. Connecticut and Rhode Iſland, by a timely ſubmiſſion, prevented the puniſhment the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay had

had incurred, and retained their original charter. That of New Hampſhire had been always regulated by the ſame mode of adminiſtration as the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay. The ſame governor preſided over the four provinces: but with regulations adapted to the conſtitution of each colony.

According to an account publiſhed by the general congreſs of the Engliſh American continent, there are four hundred thouſand inhabitants at Maſſachuſett's Bay; one hundred and ninety-two thouſand at Connecticut; one hundred and fifty thouſand at New Hampſhire; and fifty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-eight at Rhode Iſland; which forms, in this ſettlement alone, a population of eighty-one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-eight ſouls.

This great multiplication of men, ſhould ſeem to ariſe from an excellent ſoil; but this is not the caſe. All the countries, except ſome parts of Connecticut, were originally covered with pine trees; and, conſequently, are either entirely barren, or not very fertile. None of the European ſeeds thrive there; and their produce hath never been ſufficient for the nouriſhment of it's inhabitants. They have always been obliged to live upon maize, or to draw part of their ſubſiſtence from elſewhere. Accordingly, though the country be generally very fit for the culture of fruit and of vegetables, and for the breeding of cattle, yet the country places are not the moſt intereſting part of thoſe regions. It is upon coaſts ſurrounded with rocks, but which are favourable to fiſhing,

fiſhing, that the population hath augmented, activity hath increaſed, and eaſy circumſtances are become general.

This inſufficiency of the harveſts, ought to have excited induſtry in New England ſooner, and more particularly, than in the reſt of the continent. Several ſhips were even conſtructed there for foreign navigators, the materials for which, at preſent ſo ſcarce and ſo expenſive, were, for a long time, common and cheap. The facility of procuring beaver ſkins, occaſioned the eſtabliſhing of a conſiderable hat manufactory. Cloths were alſo made of flax and hemp; and with the fleeces of their flocks, the colony fabricated ſtuffs, which are coarſe but ſtrong.

To theſe manufactures, which may be called national, another branch of induſtry was added, ſupported by foreign materials. Sugar yields a reſiduum, know'n by the name of ſyrup, or molaſſes. The people of New England went to fetch it from the Weſt Indies, and uſed it at firſt juſt as it was, for various purpoſes. At length the idea of diſtilling it ſuggeſted itſelf to them. They ſold a prodigious quantity of this rum to the neighbouring ſavages; to the men employed in the cod-fiſhery, and to all the northern provinces; they even carried it to the coaſts of Africa, where they diſpoſed of it with conſiderable advantage, to the Engliſh employed in the purchaſe of ſlaves.

This branch of trade, and other circumſtances, enabled the inhabitants of New England to appropriate to themſelves part of the commodities, both

both of South and of North America. The exchanges between theſe two regions, which are ſo neceſſary to them both, paſſed through their hands; and they became, in ſome meaſure, brokers, as the Hollanders, of the New World.

THE greateſt reſource of thoſe provinces, however, always was the fiſhery; which was very conſiderable, even upon their own coaſts. A prodigious quantity of boats is ſeen in every river, bay, or port, which are employed in catching ſalmon, ſturgeon, cod, and other kinds of fiſh, which are all ſold to advantage.

MACKEREL is caught principally at the mouth of the Pentagouet, which empties itſelf in Fundy, or French Bay, at the extremity of the colony. In ſpring, and in autumn, fourteen or fifteen hundred boats, and two thouſand five hundred men, are employed in this fiſhery.

THE cod fiſhery is ſtill more advantageous to New England. It's numerous ports ſend out annually five hundred veſſels, of fifty tuns burthen, the crews of which amount to four thouſand men. They catch at leaſt two hundred and fifty thouſand quintals of cod.

THESE colonies employ themſelves likewiſe in the whale fiſhery. Before the year 1763, New England carried on this fiſhery in the Gulph of Florida, in March, April, and May; and to the eaſt of the Great Bank of Newfoundland, in June, July, and Auguſt. There were no more than one hundred and twenty ſloops, each of ſeventy tons burthen, and ſixteen hundred ſailors, ſent out for this

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this purpoſe at that time. In 1767, this fiſhery employed ſeven thouſand two hundred and ninety ſailors. Let us inveſtigate the cauſes of this conſiderable increaſe.

GREAT BRITAIN was for a long time agitated with the deſire of ſharing the whale fiſhery with the Dutch. In order to ſucceed in this, towards the latter end of the reign of Charles II. the inhabitants of that kingdom were diſcharged from paying any duty to the cuſtom-houſe, upon the produce ariſing from the fiſh which they ſhould obtain from the Northern Sea: but this indulgence was not extended to the colonies, who were obliged to pay a duty of 56 livres 5 ſols * for every tun of oil and of whalebone, at their entrance into the mother-country; this duty was only diminiſhed by one half, when theſe articles were imported on Engliſh bottoms.

To this tax, which was already too burthenſome, another was added in 1699, of 5 ſols 7 deniers † for every pound weight of whalebone; which bore equally upon America and upon Europe. This new tax produced ſuch fatal conſequences, that it was found neceſſary to ſuppreſs it in 1723; but it was only taken off for the whales caught in Greenland, in Davis's Streights, or in the adjoining ſeas. The fiſhery on the Northern continent ſtill remained ſubject to the new, as well as the old duty.

* 2 l. 6 s. 10½ d. † About 2¾ d.

THE

THE miniſtry, perceiving that the exemption of the duty was not ſufficient to excite the emulation of the Engliſh, had recourſe to encouragements. In 1732, a gratuity of 22 livres 10 ſols * was given; and ſixteen years after, another of 45 livres † for every ton conveyed by the ſhips employed in this important fiſhery. This generoſity of government produced part of the good effects which were expected from it. Great Britain, however, far from being able to vie with their rivals in foreign markets, was ſtill obliged to purchaſe annually to the value of three or four hundred thouſand livres ‡ of train oil and whalebone.

SUCH was the ſtate of things, when the ſeas of North America, which belonged to the French, became an Engliſh poſſeſſion at the laſt peace. Immediately the New-Englanders went there in numbers to catch whales, which are very plenty. They were exonerated by parliament from the duties which oppreſſed them; and their induſtry became ſtill more active. It muſt naturally be communicated to the neighbouring colonies; and it is probable that the United Provinces will, in proceſs of time, be deprived of this important branch of their trade.

THE whale fiſhery is carried on in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and in the adjacent latitudes, upon ſeas leſs tempeſtuous, and leſs embarraſſed with ice, than thoſe of Greenland. According-

* 18 s. 9 d. † 1 l. 17 s. 6 d.

‡ From 12,500 l. to 16,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

ly,

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ly, it begins ſooner, and ends later. Fewer fatal accidents happen there. The ſhips employed for the purpoſe are ſmaller, and have leſs numerous crews. Theſe reaſons muſt give to the American continent advantages, which the œconomy of the Dutch will never be able to balance. The Engliſh of Europe themſelves hoped to ſhare this ſuperiority with their coloniſts, becauſe they expected to add to the profits accruing from the fiſhery, that which they were to collect from the ſale of their cargoes; a reſource which was not allowed to the navigators who frequented Davis's Streights or the Greenland ſeas.

The vendible productions of New England are cod, train-oil, whales, tallow, cyder, ſalt meats, maize, hogs and oxen, pot-aſh, pulſe, maſts for merchantmen and men of war, and all kinds of woods. The Azore Iſlands, Madeira, the Canaries, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Great Britain, and principally the Weſt Indies, hitherto conſumed theſe articles. In 1769, the united exports of the four provinces amounted to 13,844,430 livres 19 ſols 5 deniers *. But this colony received habitually more than it ſent out, ſince it was conſtantly indebted twenty-four or twenty-five millions of livres † to the mother-country.

Some ſhips are diſpatched from every one of the extremely numerous ports that are on theſe coaſts. The principal voyages, however, from Connecticut, are undertaken at Newhaven; thoſe

* About 576,851 l. 5 s. 9¾d.

† From 1,000,000 l. to 1,041,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

to

to Rhode-Iſland, at Newport; thoſe to Hampſhire, at Portſmouth; and thoſe to Maſſachuſet's Bay, at Boſton.

THIS laſt city, which may be conſidered as the capital of New-England, is ſituated on a peninſula, four miles in length, at the bottom of the fine bay of Maſſachuſet, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is ſheltered from the impetuoſity of the waves by a number of rocks which riſe above the water, and by twelve ſmall iſlands, moſt of which are inhabited. Theſe dikes and natural ramparts will not allow more than three ſhips to come in together. At the end of the laſt century, a regular citadel, named Fort William, was erected in one of the iſlands upon this narrow channel. It is defended by a hundred pieces of cannon of the largeſt ſize, and very well placed. A league further on, is a very high light-houſe, the ſignals from which may be perceived and repeated by the fortreſs along the whole coaſt, at the ſame time that Boſton has her own light-houſes, which ſpread the alarm to all the inland country. Except when a very thick fog happens to prevail, which ſome ſhips might take advantage of to ſlip into the iſlands, the town has always five or ſix hours to prepare for the reception of an enemy, and to aſſemble ten thouſand militia, which can be collected in four and twenty hours. If a fleet ſhould ever be able to paſs the artillery of Fort William, it would infallibly be ſtopt by a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and ſouth of the place, command the whole bay, and would give

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give time for all the veſſels and commercial ſtores to be ſheltered from cannon ſhot in the river Charles.

THE harbour of Boſton is ſo ſpacious, that ſix hundred veſſels may anchor in it ſafely and commodiouſly. There is a magnificent pier conſtructed, projecting ſufficiently into the ſea to allow the ſhips to unload their goods without the aſſiſtance of a lighter, and to depoſit them into the warehouſes which are ranged on the north ſide. At the extremity of the pier, the town appears built upon an uneven territory, in form of a creſcent round the harbour. Before the diſturbances, it contained about thirty-five or forty thouſand inhabitants, of various ſects. The houſes, furniture, dreſs, food, converſation, cuſtoms and manners, were ſo exactly ſimilar to the mode of living in London, that it was ſcarce poſſible to find any other difference, but that which ariſes from the greater numbers of people there are in large capitals.

The Dutch found the colony of New Belgia, afterwards called New York.

NEW-ENGLAND, which reſembles the mother-country in ſo many reſpects, is contiguous to New-York. The latter, bounded on the eaſt by this principal colony, and on the weſt by New-Jerſey, occupies at firſt a very narrow ſpace of twenty miles along the ſea-ſhore, and inſenſibly enlarging, extends to the north above a hundred and fifty miles up the country.

THIS country was diſcovered towards the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, by Henry Hudſon, a famous Engliſh navigator, at that time in the Dutch ſervice. He entered into a

conſiderable river, to which he gave his name, and after ſlightly reconnoitring the coaſt, returned to Amſterdam, from whence he had ſailed. A ſecond voyage, undertaken by this adventurer, gave ſome better idea of this ſavage country.

According to the European ſyſtem, which never pays any attention to the people of the New World, this country ſhould have belonged to the United Provinces. It was diſcovered by a man in their ſervice, who took poſſeſſion of it in their name, and gave up to them any perſonal right he might have in it. His being an Engliſhman did not in the leaſt invalidate theſe uncontrovertible titles. It muſt therefore have occaſioned great ſurpriſe, when James the Firſt aſſerted his pretenſions to it, upon the principle that Hudſon was born his ſubject; as if any man's country was not that in which he earns his ſubſiſtence; and indeed the king laid but a ſlight ſtreſs upon a pretenſion for which there was ſo little foundation.

The republic, who ſaw nothing in this property, which was no longer conteſted with them, except a ſettlement for the trade of the beaver and other peltries, ceded it to the Weſt India company. This ſociety directed all it's attention towards theſe ſavage riches; and in order to get as near them as poſſible, they cauſed Fort Orange, ſince called Albany, to be erected upon the borders of Hudſon's River, at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty miles from the ſea. It was there that the furs were brought to their agents, who gave in exchange to the Iroquois, fire-arms,

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and warlike ſtores, to enable them to reſiſt the French, who were lately arrived in Canada.

At that time New Belgia was nothing more than a factory. The city of Amſterdam became ſenſible that it would be a judicious thing to eſtabliſh a colony in that part of the New World, and eaſily obtained the ceſſion of it, by giving 700,000 livres* to the proprietors.

These more extenſive views required other arrangements. The poſt placed in the neighbourhood of the Five Nations was left ſtanding; but it appeared neceſſary to eſtabliſh a more conſiderable one at the mouth of the river, in the iſland of Manahatan; and accordingly, New Amſterdam was built there. Neither the town, it's territories, nor the reſt of the province, were ever diſturbed by the neighbouring ſavages, ſome of whom were too weak to make any attempts, and the others were perpetually at war with the French. This poſſeſſion, therefore, was making a rapid progreſs, when it was viſited by an unexpected ſtorm.

At what period, and in what manner, the Engliſh make themſelves maſters of New Belgia.

England, which had not at that time thoſe intimate connections with Holland, which the ambition and ſucceſſes of Lewis XIV. have ſince given riſe to between the two powers, beheld with a jealous eye a ſmall ſtate, but lately formed in it's neighbourhood, extending it's flouriſhing trade to all parts of the world. She was inwardly incenſed at the idea of not being able to attain to an equality with a power which ought not even

* 29,166 l. 13 s. 4 d.

to

to have entered into a competition with her. Theſe rivals in commerce, as in navigation, by their vigilance and œconomy, ruined her in all the great markets of the univerſe, and obliged her to act only a ſecondary part. Every effort ſhe made to eſtabliſh a competition ended either to her diſadvantage or diſcredit, while univerſal commerce was evidently concentrating itſelf in the moraſſes of the republic. At length the nation was rouzed by the diſgrace of their merchants, and reſolved to ſecure to them by force what they could not obtain by their induſtry. Charles II. notwithſtanding his averſion for buſineſs, and his immoderate love of pleaſure, eagerly adopted a plan which gave him a proſpect of acquiring the riches of thoſe diſtant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterpriſing than himſelf, encouraged him in theſe diſpoſitions; and with one conſent, they ordered that the ſettlements and ſhips of the Dutch ſhould be attacked, without any previous declaration of war.

Hostilities begun in this manner are both cowardly and perfidious. They are the act of a hord of ſavages, and not of a civilized nation; of a dark aſſaſſin, and not of a warlike prince. No perſon who puts any confidence in his ſtrength, and who hath any elevation of ſoul, will ſurprize a ſleeping adverſary. If any one may be allowed to take advantage of my ſecurity, may I not alſo avail myſelf of his? Such conduct compels both parties to be inceſſantly in arms;

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the ſtate of war becomes permanent, and peace is no more than a word, devoid of meaning. There is either a juſt reaſon for attacking an enemy, or there is none. If there be none, the party that begins the attack is nothing more than a dangerous robber, againſt whom all ought to unite, and whom they have a right to exterminate. If, on the contrary, there be a reaſon for commencing hoſtilities, it ought to be notified. Nothing can authorize the ſeizure of poſſeſſions, except the refuſal to repair an injury, or to reſtore any thing that is uſurped. Before you become the aggreſſor, let the world be convinced of the injuſtice that is done to you. The only thing that can be allowed, is to make ſecret preparations for revenge, to diſſemble your projects, if they cauſe any alarm, and to leave no interval between the refuſal of juſtice and the beginning of hoſtilities. If you ſhould be weaker than your adverſary, you muſt intreat and ſuffer with patience. Muſt you be a traitor, becauſe another perſon is an uſurper? Deſpiſe the common maxim, and do not ſupply either the ſtrength you may be deficient in, or the courage which might expoſe you, by treachery. Let the opinion of your cotemporaries, and that of poſterity, be always preſent to your mind.

In the month of Auguſt 1664, an Engliſh ſquadron anchored on the coaſts of New Belgia, the capital of which ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons, and the reſt of the colony made no greater reſiſtance. This conqueſt was inſured to the Engliſh by the treaty of Breda. But they were

were deprived of it again by the republic in 1673, when the intrigues of France had ſet theſe two maritime powers at variance, which, for their mutual intereſts, ought ever to be united. A ſecond treaty again reſtored to the Engliſh, in the following year, a province which hath ſince remained attached to their dominion, but as the property of the king's brother, who gave his name to it.

The colony is ceded to the Duke of York. Principles upon which he founded it's adminiſtration.

NEW-YORK was governed by the deputies of this prince with ſufficient addreſs, to prevent the indignation of the coloniſts from being excited againſt their perſons. The public hatred was fixed upon their maſter, who had kept all the power in his own hands. This political ſlavery equally diſguſted both the Dutch, who had preferred their plantations to their country, and the Engliſh who had joined them. The people, accuſtomed to liberty, became impatient under the yoke. Every thing ſeemed tending either to an inſurrection or to an emigration. The commotion was put a ſtop to only in 1683, when the colony was invited to chooſe repreſentatives, who might regulate in aſſemblies what would be proper for it's intereſts.

COLONEL DUNCAN, who was intruſted with this buſineſs, was a man of a bold and extenſive mind. He did not confine himſelf, like thoſe who had hitherto governed the province, to the ceding of lands to every perſon who offered to clear them; he alſo extended his care to the Five Nations, which had been too much neglected by his predeceſſors. The French were for ever endeavouring

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deavouring to diſunite theſe ſavages, in hopes of enſlaving them: and they had advanced this great undertaking by means of the converts made by their miſſionaries. It was the buſineſs of England to diſconcert this plan; but the Duke of York, who had views of intereſt diſtinct from that of his country, was deſirous that his deputy ſhould favour the execution of it. Duncan, though a Catholic, conſtantly deviated from the plan that was traced out for him, and exerted his utmoſt efforts to thwart a ſyſtem which appeared to him to be founded rather upon policy than religion. He even annoyed, by every poſſible meaſure, the nation that was the rival of his. And the memoirs of the times atteſt, that he greatly retarded their progreſs.

The conduct of this able chief was different in the interior part of the colony. He encouraged, both from inclination, and in obedience to orders, the eſtabliſhment of the families of his own and of his prince's religion. This protection was accompanied with a kind of myſtery; but as ſoon as James II. had aſcended the throne, the collector of the public revenues, the principal officers, and a great number of citizens, declared themſelves partiſans of the church of Rome.

This occaſioned a great ferment in the minds of the people. The Proteſtant cauſe was thought to be in danger; and prudent men were apprehenſive of an inſurrection. Duncan ſucceeded in keeping the malecontents in order; but the revolution obliged him to make a voluntary reſignation of his poſt. He ſubmitted, like a good Engliſhman,

Engliſhman, to the new government, and by a haughtineſs of character peculiar to his nation, he ſent over to the dethroned monarch all the riches he had acquired in a long and proſperous adminiſtration.

This ſingular man had ſcarce quitted America, before the inhabitants of New England expelled their governor, Edmund Andrews, one of the moſt active promoters of the arbitrary views of King James. Some militia of New York, ſeduced by this example, endeavoured to treat Nicholſon, who was temporarily intruſted with the government, in the ſame manner; but he ſucceeded in forming a party in his favour, and the colony became the prey of two armed factions, till the arrival of Colonel Slaughter.

King William gives a government to this colony. Events previous to this new arrangement.

This commander, who was ſent by King William, convoked the members of the ſtate, on the 9th of April 1691. This aſſembly annulled every thing which had been previouſly decreed contrary to the Britiſh conſtitution, and enacted laws which have ever ſince been the rule of the colony. At this period, the executive power was placed in the hands of the governor appointed by the crown, which gave him twelve counſellors, without whoſe concurrence he could not ſign any act. The commons were repreſented by thirty deputies, choſen by the inhabitants, and theſe ſeveral bodies conſtituted the general aſſembly, in which every power was veſted. The duration of this aſſembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years, and it now continues

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ſeven, like the Britiſh parliament, the revolutions of which it hath followed.

It was time that an invariable order ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the colony. It was obliged to ſuſtain, againſt the French in Canada, a briſk and obſtinate war, which had been kindled by the dethroning of James II. Theſe hoſtilities, terminated by the treaty of Ryſwick, began again on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. The provinces adjacent to New York took ſome part in theſe diviſions; but it was this province which gave or ſuſtained the greateſt ſtrokes, which paid the troops, and which was draw'n into the moſt conſiderable expences.

Unfortunately, the contributions of the citizens, which were ordered by the general aſſembly, were collected in a cheſt, that was entirely at the diſpoſal of the governor. It often happened, that rapacious or extravagant commanders, converted to their own uſe the funds deſtined for the public ſervice. This became a perpetual ſource of diſſention. Queen Anne decreed, in 1705, that the ſame authority by which the taxes were impoſed, ſhould determine the uſe they were to be applied to, and might require an account to be given of the manner in which they had been employed.

Though the malverſations were ſtopped by this arrangement, yet the the duties paid by the province were not adequate to the expences which the continuation of the war required. This embarraſſment occaſioned, for the firſt time, in

1709,

1709, the creation of bills of credit, which were afterwards much more multiplied than either the wants of the colony required, or than was conſiſtent with it's advantage.

BURNET, a ſon of the famous biſhop of that name, who had ſo much contributed to the placing of the houſe of Orange upon the throne, was appointed governor of the colony in 1720. But though he did not ſucceed in putting a ſtop to this diſorder, yet he formed another plan for the proſperity of the colony. The French inhabitants of Canada wanted, for the purpoſe of their exchange with the ſavages, ſeveral articles which were not furniſhed by their mother-country: theſe they drew from New York. The general aſſembly of that province, by the advice of their governor, prohibited this communication. But as it was not ſufficient to have embarraſſed the meaſures of an active rival, it was determined to ſupply their place.

A GREAT part of the furs which were carried to Montreal, paſſed over the weſtern ſhores of the lake Ontario. Burnet obtained the conſent of the Iroquois, in 1722, to build there the fort Oſwego, where theſe ſavage riches might be eaſily intercepted. As ſoon as this ſettlement was formed, the merchants of Albany ſent their merchandiſe to Chenectady, where they were embarked upon the Mohawks, which conveyed them to Oſwego. The navigation of this river is very difficult, and yet the Engliſh ſucceeded beyond their expectations. Theſe exchanges would even

even have been increaſed, had they not been thwarted by every kind of difficulty.

In 1726, the French conſtructed a fort at Niagara, where the furs, which without this ſettlement muſt have been carried to Oſwego, were detained. The Engliſh merchandiſe, which could no more be openly received, was fraudulently conveyed till the year 1729, a remarkable period, in which the intereſts of individuals cauſed the law which forbad this commerce to be revoked. England too at length laid heavier taxes upon the fur trade than were paid by the French.

While theſe various impediments diminiſhed the connections which it was hoped would have been formed with the ſavages, the cultures were carried on with great ſpirit and ſucceſs throughout the whole extent of the province. They had languiſhed for ſome time, indeed, in theſe countries where James II. had granted immenſe territories to ſome men too highly favoured; but theſe countries had at length been peopled as well as the others. Unfortunately, moſt of the inhabitants only occupied, as in Scotland, lands transferable at the will of the ground landlord; and ſtill more unfortunately, this dependance gave the great proprietors a very dangerous influence in the public deliberations.

This defect in the government was particularly fatal in the two deſtructive wars which the colony was obliged to ſuſtain againſt the French, in 1744 and in 1756. It experienced, during theſe misfortunes, calamities which it might at leaſt

leaſt partly have avoided, if the efforts made to repulſe theſe enterpriſing men, and their ferocious allies, had been concerted in time, and better planned. It was neceſſary that Canada ſhould become a Britiſh poſſeſſion at the peace of 1763, in order to enable New York to attend conſtantly, and without embarraſſment or anxiety, to the extenſion of it's trade with the ſavages, and to the clearing of it's plantations.

Soil, population, and commerce of the colony.

THIS province, the limits of which were not ſettled till after the longeſt, the moſt violent, and the moſt obſtinate conteſts, with New England, New Jerſey, and Penſylvania, conſiſts at preſent of ten counties. It hath but a ſmall extent towards the ſea, but in depth it's territory reaches as far as lake George or St. Sacrament, and as far as lake Ontario. Hudſon's river iſſues from mountains ſituated between theſe two lakes. This can receive none but ſmall canoes for the ſpace of ſixty-five miles; and even that navigation is interrupted by two water-falls, which oblige the perſons concerned in it to carry their cargoes twice over land the length of about two hundred toiſes each time. But from Albany to the ocean, that is to ſay, through a ſpace of one hundred and fifty miles, veſſels of forty or fifty tons burthen are ſeen conſtantly ſailing, day and night, with the tide, upon this magnificent canal, during all ſeaſons, without the leaſt riſque; and which keep up a continual and rapid circulation in the colony.

LONG ISLAND, the part of this great ſettlement which the navigators firſt meet with, is ſeparated

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parated from the continent by a narrow channel. It is one hundred and twenty miles long, and twelve broad, and is divided into three counties. The ſavages who occupied this great ſpace, either removed from it, or periſhed ſucceſſively. Their oppreſſors owed their firſt proſperity to the whale and the ſeal fiſhery. When theſe fiſh, who delight in deſerted coaſts, diſappeared, the breeding of cattle, eſpecially of horſes, was attended to. Some cultures have ſince been eſtabliſhed upon this too ſandy ſoil.

THE ground is more uneven upon the continent; but it becomes more even and more fertile in proportion as one approaches the lakes of Canada. If the marſhes which ſtill cover the extremity of this colony ſhould be ever dried up, and if the rivers by which it is watered ſhould be ever confined within their beds, this country will become the moſt fruitful of the colony.

ACCORDING to the laſt accounts, the province contains two hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, of various nations, and of different ſects. The rich peltries which they obtain from the ſavages, and ſuch of their own productions as they do not conſume, are conveyed to the general mart. This is a city of importance, at preſent know'n, as well as the reſt of the colony, by the name of New York. It was formerly built by the Dutch, in the iſland of Manahatton, which is fourteen miles long, and one mile in it's greateſt breadth.

TRADE hath collected in this city, the climate of which is very wholeſome, eighteen or twenty thouſand

thouſand inhabitants, upon an extent of ground which is partly low and partly raiſed. The ſtreets are very irregular, but exceedingly neat. The houſes, built with brick, and covered with tiles, are more convenient than elegant. The proviſions are abundant, of excellent quality, and cheap. Eaſy circumſtances prevail univerſally. The loweſt claſs of people have a certain reſource in oyſters, the fiſhery of which alone employs two hundred boats.

The town, ſituated two miles from the mouth of Hudſon's River, hath, properly ſpeaking, neither harbour nor baſon, but doth not ſtand in need of either. It's port, which is open in all ſeaſons, is acceſſible to ſhips of the largeſt ſize, and being ſheltered from all ſtorms, is ſufficient for it. From hence the numerous ſhips come forth, which are diſpatched to different latitudes. The proviſions or merchandize which were exported in 1769, amounted to 4,352,446 livres 7 ſols 9 deniers*. Since this period, the productions of the colony have increaſed viſibly; and this increaſe muſt be carried ſtill further, ſince no more than one half of the lands are cleared, and ſince thoſe grounds which are ſo, are not ſo well cultivated as they will be when the population ſhall become more conſiderable.

Ancient and modern manners of New York.

The Dutch, who were the firſt founders of the colony, eſtabliſhed in it that ſpirit of order and œconomy which is the univerſal characteriſtic of their nation. As they always conſtituted the

* About 181,351 l. 18 s. 8 d.

majority

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majority of the people, even after theſe had changed maſters, thoſe whom conqueſt had aſſociated to them generally adopted their manners. The Germans, compelled to take refuge in America by the religious perſecution which drove them out of the palatinate, or the other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to this modeſt behaviour; and the Engliſh and French, who were not accuſtomed to ſo much frugality, ſoon conformed, either from motives of wiſdom or emulation, to a mode of living leſs expenſive and more familiar than that which is regulated by faſhion and parade. From thence it followed, that the coloniſts did not contract any debts with the mother-country; that they preſerved an intire liberty in their ſales and purchaſes, and have been enabled always to give the moſt advantageous turn to their affairs.

Such was the ſtate of the colony till 1763. At this period New York became the general abode of the principal officers and of part of the troops, which Great Britain thought neceſſary to maintain in North America, either to keep it in awe, or to defend it. This multitude of unemployed and unmarried men, who were conſtantly endeavouring to deceive their own idleneſs, and to ſtrive againſt the wearineſs of life, diſperſed themſelves among the citizens, to whom they inſpired a taſte for the luxuries of the table, and a turn for play. By their aſſiduity with the women, their converſation and their manners, they engaged them in thoſe frivolous purſuits, thoſe gallantries, and thoſe amuſements which had

had ſo much allurement for them. The two ſexes ſoon led the ſame kind of life. They roſe with the ſame projects and went to bed with the ſame extravagant ideas. This pernicious ſpirit communicated itſelf from one to another, and it ſtill continues, unleſs the terrible ſcenes which have ſince ſtained theſe countries with blood, have brought about a happy revolution in the manners.

Revolutions which have happened in New Jerſey.

New Jersey is ſituated in the neighbourhood of New York, and was know'n at firſt by the name of New Sweden, it was called thus by ſome adventurers of that nation, who landed upon theſe ſavage coaſts towards the year 1638. They formed three ſettlements there, Chriſtiana, Elzimbourg, and Gottenbourg. This colony was of no importance when it was attacked and conquered by the Dutch. Thoſe of the inhabitants, who had a greater regard for their mother-country than for their plantations returned into Europe. The others ſubmitted to the laws of the conqueror, and their territory was united to New Belgia. When the Duke of York received the inveſtiture of the province to which he gave his name, he ſeparated what had been added, and divided it between two of his favourites, under the name of New Jerſey.

Carteret and Berkley, the firſt of whom received the eaſtern, and the other the weſtern part of the province, ſolicited this vaſt territory, with no other view but to put it up to ſale. Several ſpeculative perſons purchaſed from them large diſtricts at a low price, which they ſold again in ſmaller

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ſmaller parcels. In the midſt of theſe ſubdiviſions, the colony remained divided into two diſtinct provinces, each ſeparately governed by the heirs of their original proprietors. The difficulties which they experienced in their adminiſtration diſguſted them of this kind of ſovereignty, which indeed was ill adapted to the condition of a ſubject. They gave up their charter to the crown in 1702, and from that time the two provinces became one, and like the greater part of the other Engliſh colonies, were under the direction of a governor, a council, and the deputies of the commons.

THIS large country before the revolution, contained only ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, the deſcendants of Swedes and Dutch, who were it's firſt cultivators; ſome Quakers, and ſome Church of England men, with a great number of Scotch Preſbyterians, had joined the coloniſts of the two nations. The defects of government ſtopped the progreſs, and occaſioned the indigence of this ſmall colony. It might therefore have been expected that the æra of liberty ſhould have been that of the proſperity of the colony; but almoſt all the Europeans who went to the New World, in ſearch either of an aſylum or riches, preferred Pennſylvania or Carolina, which had acquired a greater ſhare of celebrity. At length, however, New Jerſey hath been peopled, and it reckons at preſent one hundred and thirty thouſand inhabitants.

Preſent ſtate of New Jerſey, and what it may become.

THE colony is covered with flocks and with grain in abundance. Hemp thrives better there than

than in any of the neighbouring countries. An excellent copper mine hath been worked with ſucceſs in it. It's coaſts are acceſſible, and the port of Amboix, it's capital, is tolerably good. It is in want of none of the means of proſperity proper for that part of the globe, and yet it hath always remained in a profound obſcurity. It's name is ſcarcely know'n in the Old World, and not much more in the New. But perhaps it is not on this account the more unfortunate.

If we read over the hiſtory of nations both antient and modern, it will be found, that there is ſcarce any one of them, the ſplendour of which hath not been acquired but at the expence of it's felicity. People of whom no mention ſhall have been made in the melancholy annals of the world, muſt neither have been aggreſſors nor expoſed to attacks; they muſt not have interrupted the tranquillity of others, nor muſt their's have been diſturbed by diſtant or neighbouring enemies. They muſt not have had heroes who had returned to their country laden with the ſpoils of the enemy. They muſt have had no hiſtorian to relate either their miſeries or their crimes. There mankind would never have ſhuddered from one age to another, at the ſight of thoſe monuments which call to mind, in all parts, the effuſion of blood, and the ſhackles of ſlavery impoſed at a diſtance, or broken at home. They muſt not have been tor'n to pieces by political factions, nor intoxicated by abſurd opinions. The oppreſſion of tyranny muſt never have draw'n tears from their eyes nor excited them to revolt. They muſt never

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never have delivered themſelves from a deſpot by aſſaſſination, nor muſt they ever have exterminated his ſatellites, for ſuch are the events which at all times have given a celebrity to nations. On the contrary, in the midſt of a long and profound tranquillity, the fields would have been cultivated, ſome traditional hymns would have been ſung in honour of the deity, and the ſame love ſongs would have been handed down from one generation to the other. Wherefore muſt this alluring picture of happineſs be chimerical? Becauſe it hath never exiſted, and if it ſhould exiſt, it could not poſſibly be for a long time in the midſt of turbulent and ambitious nations. Whatever may be the reaſon of the obſcurity of New Jerſey, it is our duty to give them our advice upon their preſent and future ſituation.

The poverty of this province not ſuffering it at firſt to open a direct trade with the diſtant or foreign markets, it was obliged to ſell it's productions at Philadelphia, and more commonly at New York; it obtained from theſe cities in exchange, ſome merchandize of the mother-country, and a few of the productions of the iſlands. Their richeſt merchants even advanced money to the province, which kept it ſtill more in a ſtate of dependence. Notwithſtanding the increaſe of it's cultures, and of it's productions, it hath not yet ſhaken off this kind of ſervitude. We have now before us, accounts of inconteſtible authority, which prove, that in 1762 New Jerſey did not ſend any ſhips to Europe; and that it ſent only twenty-four boats to the Weſt Indies,

Indies, the value of whoſe cargoes did not amount to more than 56,965 livres 19 ſols 9 deniers *. All the reſt of it's territorial riches were delivered to the neighbouring colonies who traded with them.

This ſituation is both ruinous and degrading. New Jerſey muſt itſelf conſtruct ſhips, all the materials for which nature hath given it. It muſt ſend them out into divers ſeas, ſince it is no longer in want of men. It muſt convey it's productions to the people, who have hitherto only received them through the means of intermediatory agents. It muſt provide itſelf with the produce of foreign induſtry at firſt hand, for which it hath hitherto paid too dear, on account of the uſeleſs circuits it hath gone through. It may then form vaſt projects, devote itſelf to great enterprizes, be raiſed to that rank to which it's advantages ſeem to call it, and be more upon a level with the provinces which have too long deſtroyed it by their ſhadow, or eclipſed it with their ſplendour.

May the views which I offer, and the counſels I addreſs to New Jerſey be realized! May I live long enough to be a witneſs of them, and to rejoice at them. The happineſs of my fellow-creatures, at whatever diſtance they may exiſt from me, hath never been indifferent to me: but I have felt myſelf moved with warm concern, in favour of thoſe whom ſuperſtition or tyranny have expelled from their native country. I have

* About 2,373 l. 11 s. 8 d.

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commiſerated their ſufferings. When they have embarked I have turned my eyes up towards Heaven. My voice hath been joined to the noiſe of the winds and the waves which were carrying them beyond the ſeas; and I have repeatedly exclaimed, let them proſper! Let them find in the deſert and ſavage region which they are going to inhabit a felicity equal, or even ſuperior to our's; and if they ſhould found an empire there, let them think of preſerving themſelves and their poſterity from the calamities which they have felt.

MAP of the UNITED STATES in NORTH AMERICA: with the British, French and Spanish DOMINIONS adjoining, according to the Treaty of 1783.

By Thos.r Kitchin Senr. Hydrographer to his MAJESTY

British Miles 69 to a Degree.

15 30 60 90 120 150 180

Leagues 20 to a Degree.

5 10 20 30 40 50

Longitude West from Ferro

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Engliſh Colonies founded in Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. General Reflections on all theſe Settlements.

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Parallel between a bad and a good government.

NO ſociety was ever founded on injuſtice. A people formed by a compact ſo extraordinary, would have been, at the ſame time, both the moſt degraded and the moſt unfortunate of people. Declared enemies of the human race, they would equally have been intitled to compaſſion, from the ſentiments they would have inſpired, and thoſe they would have experienced. Feared and hated by all ſurrounding powers, they would have inceſſantly been agitated by the ſame paſſions. Their misfortunes would have excited univerſal joy, and their proſperity general affliction. The nations would one day have united to exterminate them; but time would have rendered this league uſeleſs. It would have been ſufficient for their annihilation, and for the avenging of other nations, that each of their members ſhould have modelled his conduct upon the maxims of the ſtate. Animated with the ſpirit of their inſtitution, they would all have been

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been eager to raiſe themſelves upon the ruin of each other. No meaſure would have appeared too odious for this purpoſe. This would have been realiſing the fable of the race engendered from the teeth of the dragon, which Cadmus ſowed upon the earth, and which was deſtroyed as ſoon as created.

How different would be the deſtiny of an empire founded on virtue! Agriculture, the arts, the ſciences, and commerce, improved under the protection of peace, would have expelled idleneſs, ignorance, and miſery. The chief of the ſtate would have protected the different ranks of men in the ſtate, and would have been adored. He would have underſtood that not one of the ſociety could ſuffer, without ſome injury to the whole body, and therefore he would have attended to the happineſs of all. Impartial equity would inſure the obſervation of the treaties which it had dictated; the ſtability of laws, which it had ſimplified, and the diſtribution of taxes, which it would have proportioned to the public expences. All the neighbouring powers, intereſted in the preſervation of this people, would arm in their defence, upon the leaſt danger which ſhould threaten them. But in default of foreign ſuccours, they might themſelves oppoſe, to the unjuſt aggreſſor, the impenetrable barrier of a rich and numerous people, for whom the word Country would not merely be a nominal idea. This is what may be called imaginary excellence in politics.

THESE

These two ſorts of government are equally unknow'n in the annals of the world; which preſent us with nothing but imperfect ſketches, more or leſs reſembling the atrocious ſublimity, or more or leſs diſtant from the affecting beauty of one or the other of theſe great portraits. The nations which have made the moſt ſplendid figure on the theatre of the world, actuated by deſtructive ambition, have diſplayed a greater reſemblance to the former. Others, more wiſe in their conſtitution, more ſimple in their manners, more limited in their views, and enveloped, if we may uſe the expreſſion, with a kind of ſecret happineſs, ſeemed to be more conformable to the ſecond. Among the latter Pennſylvania may be reckoned.

The Quakers found Penſylvania. Manners of that ſect.

Lutheranism, which was deſtined to cauſe a remarkable change in Europe, either by it's own influence, or by the example it gave, had occaſioned a great ferment in the minds of all men; when there aroſe, in the midſt of the commotions it excited, a new religion, which, at firſt, appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticiſm, than like a ſect that was governed by any fixed principle. The generality of innovators in religion follow a regular ſyſtem, compoſed of doctrines connected with each other, and contend, at firſt, only to defend them; till perſecution irritates and ſtimulates them to rebellion, ſo that at length they have recourſe to arms. The Anabaptiſts, on the contrary, as if they had only looked into the bible for the word of command

to attack, lifted up the ſtandard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a ſyſtem of doctrine. It is true, indeed, their leaders had taught, that it was a ridiculous and uſeleſs practice to adminiſter baptiſm to infants, and aſſerted that their opinion upon this point was the ſame as that of the primitive church; but they had not yet ever reduced to practice this article of belief, which was the only one that furniſhed a pretence for their ſeparation. The ſpirit of ſedition prevented them from paying a proper attention to the ſchiſmatic tenets on which their diviſion was founded. To ſhake off the tyrannical yoke of church and ſtate, was their law and their faith. To enliſt in the armies of the Lord, to join with the faithful, who were to wield the ſword of Gideon, this was their device, their motive, and their ſignal for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and ſword into a great part of Germany, that the Anabaptiſts thought of giving ſome baſis and ſome connection to their creed, and of marking and cementing their confederacy by ſome viſible ſign of union. Having been united at firſt by inſpiration to raiſe a body of troops, in 1525 they were united to compoſe a religious code.

In this mixed ſyſtem of intoleration and mildneſs, the Anabaptiſt church, being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught, neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

The ſpirit of the Lord blowing whereſoever it liſteth, the power of preaching is not limited to

one order of the faithful, but is diſpenſed to all. Every one likewiſe has the gift of prophecy.

EVERY ſect which hath not preſerved a community of all things which conſtituted the life and ſpirit of primitive Chriſtianity, has degenerated, and is for that reaſon an impure ſociety.

MAGISTRATES are uſeleſs in a ſociety of the truly faithful. A Chriſtian never has occaſion for any; nor is a Chriſtian allowed to be one himſelf.

CHRISTIANS are not permitted to take up arms even in their own defence, much leſs is it lawful for them to enliſt as ſoldiers in mercenary armies.

BOTH law-ſuits and oaths are forbidden the diſciples of Chriſt, who has commanded them to let their yea, be yea, and their nay, nay.

THE baptiſm of infants is an invention of the devil and the pope. The validity of baptiſm depends upon the voluntary conſent of adults, who alone are able to receive it with a conſciouſneſs of the engagement they take upon themſelves.

SUCH was in it's origin the religious ſyſtem of the Anabaptiſts. Though it appears founded on charity and mildneſs, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of ſtations, is the moſt dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized ſociety. To preach this ſyſtem to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights; it is leading them on to aſſaſſination and plunder. It is letting domeſtic

meſtic animals looſe, and transforming them into wild beaſts. The rulers of the people muſt be more enlightened, or the laws by which they are governed muſt be ſoftened; but there is in fact no ſuch thing in nature as a real equality; it exiſts only in the ſyſtem of equity. Even the ſavages themſelves are not equal when once they are collected into hords. They are only ſo while they wander in the woods; and even then the man who ſuffers the produce of his chace to be taken from him, is not the equal of him who deprives him of it. Such has been the origin of all ſocieties.

A DOCTRINE, the baſis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly calculated to find partiſans any where but among the poor. The peaſants therefore adopted it with the greater enthuſiaſm, in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more inſupportable. The far greater part, eſpecially thoſe who were condemned to ſlavery, roſe up in arms on all ſides, to ſupport a doctrine, which, from being vaſſals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehenſion of ſeeing one of the firſt bands of ſociety, obedience to the magiſtrate, broken, united all other ſects againſt them, who could not ſubſiſt without ſubordination. After having carried on a more obſtinate reſiſtance than could have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their ſect, notwithſtanding it had made it's way all over Germany, and into a part of the North, was no

where

where prevalent, becauſe it had been every where oppoſed and diſperſed. It was but juſt tolerated in thoſe countries, in which the greateſt latitude of opinion was allowed; and there was not any ſtate in which it was able to ſettle a church, authoriſed by the civil power. This of courſe weakened it, and from obſcurity it fell into contempt. It's only glory is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the ſect of quakers.

Origin and character of the Quakers.

THIS humane and peaceable ſect aroſe in England, amidſt the confuſions of that bloody war, which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the ſcaffold by his own ſubjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower claſs of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a ſingular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his employment. In order to wean himſelf entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other amuſement but his bible. In time he even learned to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inſpiration ſimilar to that of the apoſtles and the prophets.

HE then began to think of making proſelytes, in which he found no difficulty in a country where the minds of all men were filled and diſturbed with enthuſiaſtic notions. He was, therefore, ſoon followed by a multitude of diſciples, the novelty and

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and ſingularity of whoſe opinions, upon incomprehenſible ſubjects, could not fail of attracting and faſcinating all thoſe who were fond of the marvellous.

THE firſt thing by which they caught the eye, was the ſimplicity of their dreſs, in which there was no gold or ſilver lace, no embroidery, laces, or ruffles, and from which they affected to baniſh every thing that was ſuperfluous or unneceſſary. They would not ſuffer either a button in the hat, or a plait in the coat, becauſe it was poſſible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for eſtabliſhed modes reminded thoſe who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the reſt of men, from whom they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this external modeſty.

ALL outward marks of deference, which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from thoſe who are unable to refuſe them, were diſdained by the quakers, who diſclaimed the names of maſter and ſervant. They condemned all titles, as being tokens of pride in thoſe who claimed them, and of meanneſs in thoſe who beſtowed them. They did not allow to any perſon whatever the appellation of eminence or excellence, and ſo far they might be in the right; but they refuſed to comply with thoſe reciprocal demonſtrations of reſpect which we call politeneſs, and in this they were to blame. The name of friend, they ſaid, was not to be refuſed by one chriſtian or citizen to another, but the ceremony of bowing they conſidered as ridiculous and troubleſome. To pull off the hat they held to be a want of reſpect

to

to a man's ſelf, in order to ſhew it to others. They carried this idea ſo far, that even the magiſtates could not compel them to any external mark of reverence; but they addreſſed both them and princes according to the ancient majeſty of language, in the ſecond perſon and in the ſingular number; and they juſtified this licence by the cuſtom of thoſe very perſons, who were offended at it, and who uſed to addreſs their ſaints and their God in the ſame manner.

The auſterity of their morals ennobled the ſingularity of their manners. The uſe of arms, conſidered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it were to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity, if to defend one's ſelf, it was breaking through thoſe of chriſtianity. Univerſal peace was the goſpel they had agreed to profeſs. If any one ſmote a quaker upon one cheek, he immediately preſented the other; if any one aſked him for his coat, he offered his waiſtcoat too. Nothing could engage theſe equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take leſs than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magiſtrate, and in ſupport of a juſt cauſe, they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched diſputes that ariſe between weak and periſhable beings.

The contempt they entertained for the outward forms of politeneſs in civil life, was changed into averſion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the oſtentatious edifices of prieſtcraft, they conſidered the

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the ſabbath as a pernicious and idle inſtitution, and baptiſm and the Lord's Supper as ridiculous ſymbols. For this reaſon they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghoſt, which gave a character far ſuperior to that of the prieſthood. When they were aſſembled together, the firſt perſon who found himſelf inſpired, aroſe, and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of ſpeech, which they called the gift of prophecy; ſometimes many of theſe holy brethren ſpoke at the ſame time; but much more frequently a profound ſilence prevailed in their aſſemblies.

The enthuſiaſm occaſioned both by their meditations and diſcourſes, excited ſuch a degree of ſenſibility in the nervous ſyſtem, that it threw them into convulſions, for which reaſon they were called quakers. To have cured theſe people in proceſs of time of their folly, nothing more was requiſite than to turn it into ridicule; but inſtead of this, perſecution contributed to make it more general. While every other new ſect met with encouragement, this was expoſed to every kind of puniſhment; impriſonments, whippings, pillories, mad-houſes, were none of them thought too terrible for bigots, whoſe only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reaſonable over-much. The conſtancy with which they bore their ſufferings, at firſt excited compaſſion, and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwell, who had been one of their moſt violent enemies, becauſe

they uſed to inſinuate themſelves into his camps, and diſſuade his ſoldiers from their profeſſion, gave them public marks of his eſteem. His policy exerted itſelf in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate to himſelf a higher degree of reſpect and conſideration; but they either eluded his invitations, or rejected them; and he afterwards confeſſed, that this was the only religion which was not to be influenced by bribery.

Foundation of Penſylvania by Penn. Principles of his legiſlation.

AMONG the ſeveral perſons who caſt a temporary luſtre on the ſect, the only one who deſerves to be remembered by poſterity, is William Penn. He was the ſon of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally diſtinguiſhed by Cromwell, and the two Stuarts, who held the reins of government after him. This able ſeaman, more ſupple and more inſinuating than men of his profeſſion uſually are, had made ſeveral conſiderable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not admitted of the repayment of theſe loans during his life, and as affairs were not in a better ſituation at his death, it was propoſed to his ſon, that inſtead of money, he ſhould accept of an immenſe territory in America. It was a country, which, though long ſince diſcovered and ſurrounded by Engliſh colonies, had always been neglected. A ſpirit of benevolence made him accept with pleaſure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almoſt as a ſovereignty, and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the aſylum of the

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the unfortunate. With this generous deſign, towards the end of the year 1681, he ſet ſail for his new poſſeſſions, which from that time took the name of Pennſylvania. All the quakers were deſirous to follow him, in order to avoid the perſecution raiſed againſt them by the clergy, on account of their not complying with the tithes and other eccleſiaſtical fees; but from prudential motives he declined taking over any more than two thouſand.

His arrival in the New World was ſignalized by an act of equity, which made his perſon and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly ſatisfied with the right given him to his extenſive territory, by the grant he had received of it from the Britiſh miniſtry, he determined to make it his own property by purchaſing it of the natives. The price he gave to the ſavages is not know'n; but though ſome people accuſe them of ſtupidity for conſenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not leſs entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and juſtice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans. He rendered himſelf as much as poſſible a legal poſſeſſor of the territory, and by the uſe he made of it ſupplied any deficiency there might be in the validity of his title. The Americans entertained as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an averſion for all thoſe which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their conſent. From that time there aroſe a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good

good faith, which nothing has ever been able to ſhake.

PENN's humanity could not be confined to the ſavages only, it extended itſelf to all thoſe who were deſirous of living under his laws. Senſible that the happineſs of the people depended upon the nature of the legiſlation, he founded his upon thoſe two firſt principles of public ſplendour and private felicity, liberty and property. If it were allowed to borrow the language of fable, with reſpect to an account that ſeems to be fabulous, we ſhould ſay, that Aſtræa, who had been gone up into heaven for ſo long a time, was now come down upon earth again, and that the reign of innocence and concord was going to be revived among mankind. The mind of the writer and of his reader dwells with pleaſure on this part of modern hiſtory, and feels ſome kind of compenſation for the diſguſt, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European ſettlements in America, inſpires. Hitherto we have only ſeen theſe barbarians depopulating the country before they took poſſeſſion of it, and laying every thing waſte before they cultivated it. It is time to obſerve the dawnings of reaſon, happineſs, and humanity, riſing from among the ruins of a hemiſphere, which ſtill reeks with the blood of all it's people, civilized as well as ſavage.

THE virtuous legiſlator made toleration the baſis of his ſociety. He admitted every man who acknowleged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every chriſtian eligible to ſtate employments.

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But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper, and neither eſtabliſhed a reigning church in Pennſylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worſhip, nor compelled any perſons to attend them.

PENN, attached to his name, was deſirous that the property of the ſettlement which he had formed ſhould remain in perpetuity to his family; but he deprived them of any deciſive influence in the public reſolutions, and ordained, that they ſhould not exerciſe any act of authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an intereſt in the law, by having one in the object of it, were to be electors, and might be choſen. To avoid as much as poſſible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the repreſentatives ſhould be choſen by ſuffrages privately given. To eſtabliſh a law, a plurality of voices was ſufficient; but a majority of two-thirds was neceſſary to ſettle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a ſubſidy demanded by government; but was it poſſible to grant leſs indulgences to men who were come ſo far in ſearch of peace?

SUCH was the opinion of that real philoſopher Penn. He gave a thouſand acres to all thoſe who could afford to pay 450 livres* for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himſelf, his wife, each of his children above ſixteen years old, and each of his ſervants, fifty acres of land, for the

* 18l. 15s.

annual quit-rent of one ſol ten deniers and a half† per acre. Fifty acres were alſo given to every citizen who when he was of age, conſented to pay an annual tribute of two livres five ſols ‡.

To fix theſe properties for ever, he eſtabliſhed tribunals to maintain the laws made for the preſervation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands to make thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of them purchaſe the decree of juſtice that ſecures them: for in that caſe every individual is obliged to part with ſome of his property, in order to ſecure the reſt; and law, when protracted, exhauſts the very treaſures it ſhould preſerve, and the property it ſhould defend. Leſt any perſons ſhould be found whoſe intereſt it might be to encourage or prolong law-ſuits, he forbad under very ſtrict penalties all thoſe who were engaged in the adminiſtration of juſtice, to receive any ſalary or gratuity whatſoever. And further, every diſtrict was obliged to chuſe three arbitrators, whoſe buſineſs it was to endeavour to prevent, and accommodate, any diſputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of juſtice.

This attention to prevent law-ſuits ſprang from the deſire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to puniſh, were calculated to put a ſtop to them even in their very ſources, poverty and idleneſs. It was enacted that every child above twelve years old, ſhould be obliged to learn a profeſſion, let his condition be

† About one penny. ‡ 1s. 10½d.

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what it would. This regulation, at the ſame time that it ſecured the poor man a ſubſiſtence, furniſhed the rich man with a reſource againſt every reverſe of fortune, preſerved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original deſtination, which is that of labour, either of the mind or of the body.

VIRTUE had never perhaps inſpired a legiſlation better calculated to promote the felicity of mankind. The opinions, the ſentiments, and the morals corrected whatever might be defective in it, and remedied any part of it that might be imperfect. Accordingly, the proſperity of Pennſylvania was very rapid. This republic, without either wars, conqueſts, ſtruggles, or any of thoſe revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, ſoon excited the admiration of the whole univerſe. It's neighbours, notwithſtanding their ſavage ſtate, were ſoftened by the ſweetneſs of it's manners, and diſtant nations, notwithſtanding their corruption, paid homage to it's virtues. All were delighted to ſee thoſe heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to conſider as entirely fabulous.

Proſperity of Pennſylvania.

PENNSYLVANIA is defended on the eaſt by the ocean, on the north by New-York and New-Jerſey, on the ſouth by Virginia and Maryland, on the weſt by the Indians; on all ſides by friends, and within itſelf by the virtue of it's inhabitants. It's coaſts, which are at firſt very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles, and the breadth

breadth of it, which has no other limits than it's population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles.

PENNSYLVANIA PROPER, is divided into eleven counties, Philadelphia, Bucks, Cheſter, Lancaſter, York, Cumberland, Berks, Northampton, Bedford, Northumberland, and Weſtmoreland.

IN the ſame region, the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, form a diſtinct government, but are regulated on the ſame principles.

THE ſky of the colony is pure and ſerene, and the climate, naturally very wholeſome, has been rendered ſtill more ſo by cultivation; the waters, equally ſalubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or ſand: and the year is tempered by the regular return of the ſeaſons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, laſts till the end of March. As it is ſeldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally ſpeaking, moderate; ſometimes, however, ſharp enough to freeze the largeſt rivers in a night's time. This change, which is as ſhort as it is ſudden, is occaſioned by the north-weſt winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The ſpring is uſhered in by ſoft rains and a gentle heat, which increaſes gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be inſupportable, were it not for the refreſhing breezes of the ſouth-weſt wind, which afford almoſt a conſtant relief.

THOUGH the country be unequal, it is not on that account leſs fertile. The ſoil in ſome places

conſiſts of a yellow and black ſand, in others it is gravelly, and ſometimes it is a greyiſh aſh-colour upon a ſtony bottom; generally ſpeaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which, interſecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

When the Europeans firſt came into the country, they found nothing but wood for building, and iron mines. In proceſs of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, a great variety of fruits, plantations of flax and hemp, many kinds of vegetables, every ſort of grain, and eſpecially wheat and maize; which a happy experience had ſhew'n to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs as excited the aſtoniſhment of all nations.

From whence could ariſe this extraordinary proſperity? From that civil and religious liberty which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly ſome laborious Germans, into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptiſts, members of the Church of England, Methodiſts, Preſbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans, and Catholics.

Among the numerous ſects which abound in this country, a very diſtinguiſhed one is that of the Dumplers. It was founded by a German, who, weary of the world, retired to an agreeable ſolitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himſelf up to contemplation.

templation. Curioſity brought ſeveral of his countrymen to viſit his retreat, and by degrees his pious, ſimple, and peaceable manners induced them to ſettle near him, and they all formed a little colony which they called Euphrates, in alluſion to the Hebrews, who uſed to ſing pſalms on the borders of that river.

THIS little city forms a triangle, the outſides of which are bordered with mulberry and apple-trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard, and between the orchard and theſe ranges of trees are houſes, built of wood, three ſtories high, where every Dumpler is left to enjoy the pleaſures of his meditations without diſturbance. Theſe contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of ſtagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

THE men and women live in ſeparate quarters of the city. They never ſee each other but at places of worſhip, nor are there any aſſemblies of any kind but for public buſineſs. Their life is ſpent in labour, prayer, and ſleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells to attend divine ſervice. Like the Methodiſts and Quakers, every individual among them has the right of preaching when he thinks himſelf inſpired. The favourite ſubjects on which they diſcourſe in their aſſemblies, are humility, temperance, chaſtity, and the other chriſtian virtues. They never violate that day of repoſe, which all

orders of men, whether idle or laborious, much delight in. They admit a hell and a paradiſe; but reject the eternity of future puniſhments. They abhor the doctrine of original ſin as an impious blaſphemy, and in general every tenet that is ſevere to man appears to them injurious to the divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they only adminiſter baptiſm to the adult. At the ſame time they think baptiſm ſo eſſentially neceſſary to ſalvation, that they imagine the ſouls of chriſtians in another world are employed in converting thoſe who have not died under the law of the goſpel.

STILL more diſintereſted than the Quakers, they never allow themſelves any law-ſuits. One may cheat, rob, and abuſe them without ever being expoſed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the ſame effect on them that philoſophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them inſenſible to every kind of inſult.

NOTHING can be plainer than their dreſs. In winter, it is a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood, which ſerves inſtead of a hat, a coarſe ſhirt, thick ſhoes, and very wide breeches. The only difference in ſummer, is, that linen is uſed inſtead of woollen. The women are dreſſed much like the men, except that they have no breeches.

THEIR common food conſiſts wholly of vegetables, not becauſe it is unlawful to eat any other, but becauſe that kind of abſtinence is looked upon as

as more conformable to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity which has an averſion for blood.

Each individual follows with cheerfulneſs the branch of buſineſs allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is depoſited in a common ſtock, in order to ſupply the neceſſities of every one. This union of induſtry has not only eſtabliſhed agriculture, manufactures, and all the arts neceſſary for the ſupport of this little ſociety, but hath alſo ſupplied, for the purpoſes of exchange, ſuperfluities proportioned to the degree of it's population.

Though the two ſexes live ſeparate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account fooliſhly renounce matrimony: but thoſe who find themſelves diſpoſed to it leave the city, and form an eſtabliſhment in the country, which is ſupported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all throw'n into the public treaſury, and their children are ſent to be educated in the mother-country. Without this wiſe privilege, the Dumplers would be no better than monks, and in proceſs of time would become either ſavages or libertines.

The moſt edifying, and at the ſame time the moſt extraordinary circumſtance, is the harmony that ſubſiſts between all the ſects eſtabliſhed in Pennſylvania, notwithſtanding the difference of their religious opinions. Though not all of the ſame church, they all love and cheriſh one another as children of the ſame father. They have always continued to live like brethren, becauſe they had the liberty of thinking as men. To this delightful

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delightful harmony muſt be attributed more particularly the rapid progreſs of the colony..

At the beginning of the year 1774, the population of this ſettlement amounted to three hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, according to the calculations of the general congreſs. It muſt however be acknowleged, that thirty thouſand Negroes made part of this numerous population; but truth alſo requires us to ſay, that ſlavery, in this province, hath not been a ſource of corruption, as it hath always been, and always will be, in ſocieties that are not ſo well regulated. The manners are ſtill pure, and even auſtere, in Pennſylvania. Is this ſingular advantage to be aſcribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation conſtantly ſubſiſting between the different ſects, or to ſome other particular cauſe? Let the reader determine this queſtion.

The Pennſylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they ſooner become mothers than in Europe, they ſooner ceaſe breeding. If the heat of the climate ſeems on the one hand to haſten the operations of nature, it's inconſtancy weakens them on the other. There is no place where the temperature of the ſky is more uncertain, for it ſometimes changes five or ſix times in the ſame day.

As, however, theſe varieties have neither any dangerous influence upon animals, nor even upon vegetables, and as they do not deſtroy the harveſts, there is a conſtant plenty, and an univerſal appearance of eaſy circumſtances. The œconomy which is ſo particularly attended to in Pennſylvania,

ſylvania, does not prevent both ſexes from being well-clothed; and their food is ſtill preferable in it's kind to their clothing. The families whoſe circumſtances are the leaſt eaſy, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum. A very great number are able to afford to drink conſtantly French and Spaniſh wines, punch, and even liquors of a higher price. The abuſe of theſe ſtrong drinks is leſs frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

The pleaſing view of this abundance is never diſturbed by the melancholy appearance of poverty. There are no poor in all Pennſylvania. All thoſe whoſe birth or fortune have left them without reſources, are ſuitably provided for out of the public treaſury. The ſpirit of benevolence is carried ſtill further, and is extended even to the moſt engaging hoſpitality. A traveller is welcome to ſtop in any place, without the apprehenſions of giving the leaſt uneaſy ſenſation, except that of regret for his departure.

The happineſs of the colony is not diſturbed by the oppreſſive burden of taxes. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 280,140 livres *. Moſt of them, even thoſe that were deſigned to repair the damages of war, were to ceaſe in 1772. If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owen to the irruptions of the ſavages, which had occaſioned extraordinary expences. This trifling inconvenience would not have been attended to, if Penn's family could

* 11,672 l. 10 s.

have

have been prevailed upon to contribute to the public expences, in proportion to the revenue they obtained from the province: a circumſtance required by the inhabitants, and which in equity they ought to have complied with.

The Pennſylvanians, happy poſſeſſors, and peaceable tenants, of a country that uſually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not reſtrained by fear from the propagation of their ſpecies. There is hardly an unmarried perſon to be met with in the country. Marriage is the more happy and the more reverenced for it; the freedom as well as the ſanctity of it depends upon the choice of the parties: they chuſe the lawyer and the prieſt rather as witneſſes, than as the means to cement their engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any oppoſition, they go off on horſeback together, the man gets behind his miſtreſs, and in this ſituation they preſent themſelves before the magiſtrate, where the girl declares ſhe has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So ſolemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any perſon a right to give them any moleſtation. In all other caſes, paternal authority is exceſſive. The head of a family, whoſe affairs are involved, is allowed to ſell his children to his creditors; a puniſhment one ſhould imagine very ſufficient to induce an affectionate father to attend to his affairs. An adult diſcharges in one year's ſervice a debt of 112 livres 10 ſols *; children under twelve years of

* 4l. 13s. 9d.

age

age are obliged to ſerve till they are one and twenty, in order to pay off the ſame ſum. This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the eaſt.

THOUGH there be ſeveral villages, and even ſome cities in the colony, moſt of the inhabitants may be ſaid to live ſeparately, as it were, within their families. Every proprietor of land has his houſe in the midſt of a large plantation, entirely ſurrounded with quickſet hedges. Of courſe each pariſh is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This diſtance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect, and ſtill leſs influence. Children are not baptiſed till a few months, and ſometimes not till a year or two after their birth.

ALL the pomp of religion ſeems to be reſerved for the laſt honours man receives before he is ſhut up in the grave for ever. As ſoon as any perſon is dead in the country, the neareſt neighbours have notice given them of the day of the burial. Theſe ſpread it in the habitations next to their's, and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a diſtance. Every family ſends at leaſt one perſon to attend the funeral. As they come in, they are preſented with punch and cake. When the aſſembly is complete, the corpſe is carried to the burying-ground belonging to his ſect, or if that ſhould be at too great a diſtance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred perſons on horſeback, who obſerve a continual ſilence, and have all the external appearance ſuitable to the

melancholy nature of the ceremony. One ſingular circumſtance is, that the Pennſylvanians, who are the greateſt enemies to parade during their lives, ſeem to forget this character of modeſty at their deaths. They are all deſirous that the poor remains of their ſhort lives ſhould be attended with a funeral pomp proportioned to their rank or fortune. It is a general obſervation, that plain and virtuous people, even thoſe that are ſavage and poor, pay great attention to the ordering of their funerals. The reaſon is, that they look upon theſe laſt honours as duties of the ſurvivors, and the duties themſelves as ſo many diſtinct proofs of that principle of love, which is very ſtrong in private families while they are in a ſtate neareſt to that of nature. It is not the dying man himſelf who exacts theſe honours; his parents, his wife, his children, voluntarily pay them to the aſhes of a huſband and father that has deſerved to be lamented. Theſe ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in ſmall ſocieties than in larger ones, becauſe though there are fewer families upon the whole, the number of individuals there is much larger, and all the ties that connect them with each other are much ſtronger. This kind of intimate union has been the reaſon why ſo many ſmall nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes and the Perſians out of Greece, and it will ſome time or other expel the French from Corſica.

But from whence does Pennſylvania get the articles neceſſary for her own conſumption, and in what manner does ſhe contrive to be abundantly furniſhed

furniſhed with them? With the flax and hemp that is produced at home, and the cotton ſhe procures from South America, ſhe fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe ſhe manufactures many coarſe cloths. Whatever her own induſtry is not able to furniſh, ſhe purchaſes with the produce of her territory. Her ſhips carry over to the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Daniſh iſlands, biſcuit, flour, butter, cheeſe, tallow, vegetables, fruits, ſalt meat, cyder, beer, and all ſorts of wood for building. The cotton, ſugar, coffee, brandy, and money received in exchange, are ſo many materials for a freſh commerce with the mother-country, and with other European nations as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain and Portugal, open an advantageous market for the corn and wood of Pennſylvania, which they purchaſe with wine and piaſtres. The mother-country receives from Pennſylvania, iron, flax, leather, furs, linſeed, maſts and yards, for which it returns thread, fine cloths, tea, Iriſh and India linens, hardware, and other articles of luxury or neceſſity. But all theſe branches of trade have been hitherto prejudicial to the colony, though it can neither be cenſured nor commiſerated on this account. Whatever meaſures may be adopted, it is unavoidably neceſſary that riſing ſtates ſhould contract debts; and the one we are now ſpeaking of will remain in debt as long as the clearing of the lands requires greater expences than the produce will enable it to anſwer. Other colonies, which enjoy almoſt excluſively

cluſively ſome branches of trade, ſuch as rice, tobacco, and indigo, muſt have grow'n rich very rapidly. Pennſylvania, the riches of which are founded on agriculture and the increaſe of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her proſperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent baſis.

If any circumſtance can retard the progreſs of the colony, it muſt be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiſcriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid 112 livres 10 ſols * for each hundred acres, and that the purchaſers agree to give an annual rent of 22 ſols 6 deniers †. The conſequence of this is, that the province wants that ſort of connection which is ſo neceſſary in all eſtabliſhments, and that the ſcattered inhabitants eaſily become the prey of the moſt inſignificant enemy that ventures to attack them.

There are different ways of clearing the lands which are followed in the colony. Sometimes a huntſman will ſettle in the midſt of a foreſt, or quite cloſe to it. His neareſt neighbours aſſiſt him in cutting down trees, and placing them one above another: and this conſtitutes a houſe. Around this ſpot he cultivates, without any aſſiſtance, a garden or a field, ſufficient to ſubſiſt himſelf and his family.

A few years after the firſt labours are finiſhed, ſome more active or richer men arrive from the

* 4 l. 13 s. 9 d. † 18 s. 4½ d.

mother-

mother-country. They indemnify the huntſman for his labour, and agree with the proprietors of the provinces for ſome lands that have not yet been paid for. They build more commodious habitations, and clear a greater extent of territory.

At length ſome Germans, who come into the New World from inclination, or are driven into it by perſecution, complete theſe ſettlements that are as yet unfiniſhed. The firſt and ſecond order of planters remove into other parts, with a more conſiderable ſtock for carrying on agriculture than they had at firſt.

In 1767, the exports of Pennſylvania amounted to 13,164,439 livres 5 ſols 3 deniers *; and they have ſince increaſed much more conſiderably in that colony than in any other.

Preſent ſtate of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, or *the city of Brothers*, is the center of this great trade. This famous city is ſituated at the conflux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, at the diſtance of 120 miles from the ſea. Penn, who deſtined it for the metropolis of a great empire, deſigned it to be one mile in breadth and two in length between the rivers; but it's population has proved inſufficient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto the banks of the Delaware are only built upon; but without giving up the ideas of the legiſlator, or deviating from his plan. Theſe precautions are highly proper. Philadelphia muſt become the moſt conſiderable city of America, becauſe the colony

* About 548,518l. 6s. 0¾d.

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must neceſſarily improve greatly, and it's productions muſt paſs through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the ſea.

The ſtreets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are from fifty to a hundred feet broad. On each ſide of them there are foot-paths defended by poſts, placed at different diſtances.

The houſes, each of which has it's garden and orchard, are commonly three ſtories high, and are built of brick. The preſent buildings have received an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this, tables, chimney-pieces, and other houſehold furniture are made; beſides which, it is become rather a conſiderable article of commerce with the greateſt part of America.

These valuable materials could not have been found in common in the houſes, unleſs they had been laviſhed in the churches. Every ſect has it's own church, and ſome of them have ſeveral. But there are a number of citizens, who have neither churches, prieſts, nor any public form of worſhip, and who are ſtill happy, humane, and virtuous.

The town-houſe is a building holden in as much veneration, though not ſo much frequented as the churches. It is conſtructed with the greateſt magnificence. There the legiſlators of the colony aſſemble every year, and more frequently if neceſſary, to ſettle every thing relative to public buſineſs. Theſe men of truſt are here ſupplied with every publication that may give them any

 information

information reſpecting government, trade, and adminiſtration. Next to the town-houſe is a moſt elegant library, formed in 1732, under the care of the learned Dr. Franklin, and conſiſting of the beſt Engliſh, with ſeveral French and Latin authors. It is only open to the public on Saturdays. The founders have free acceſs to it at all times. Others pay a trifle for the loan of the books, and a forfeit if they be not returned at a ſtated time. This little fund, which is conſtantly accumulating, is appropriated to the increaſe of the library, to which have been lately added, in order to make it more uſeful, ſome mathematical and philoſophical inſtruments, with a very fine cabinet of natural hiſtory.

Not far from this there is another monument of the ſame nature. This conſiſts of a fine collection of Greek and Latin claſſics, with their moſt eſteemed commentators, and of the beſt performances that have graced the modern languages. This library was bequeathed to the public, in 1752, by the learned and generous citizen Logan, who had ſpent a long and laborious life in collecting it.

The college, which is intended to prepare the mind for the attainment of all the ſciences, owed it's riſe, in 1749, to the labours of Dr. Franklin, whoſe name ſtands always recorded among the great or uſeful things, accompliſhed in this country which gave him birth. At firſt, it only initiated the youth in the belles lettres; but medicine, chymiſtry, botany, and natural philoſophy, have been ſince taught there. Knowlege of

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every kind, and maſters in every ſcience, will increaſe, in proportion as the lands, which are become their patrimony, ſhall yield a greater produce. If ever deſpotiſm, ſuperſtition, or war, ſhould plunge Europe again into that ſtate of barbariſm out of which philoſophy and the arts have extricated it, the ſacred fire will be kept alive in Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten the world.

This city is amply ſupplied with every aſſiſtance human nature can require, and with all the reſources induſtry can make uſe of. It's quays, the principal of which is two hundred feet wide, preſent a ſuite of convenient warehouſes, and docks ingeniouſly contrived for ſhip-building. Ships of five hundred tons may land there without any difficulty, except in times of froſt. There, is taken on board the merchandiſe which has either been brought by the rivers Schuylkill and Delaware, or carried along better roads than are to be met with in moſt parts of Europe. Police has made a greater progreſs in this part of the New World, than among the moſt ancient nations of the Old.

It is impoſſible to determine preciſely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactneſs, and there are ſeveral ſects who do not chriſten their children. It appears, however, that in 1766 it contained 20,000 inhabitants. As moſt of them are employed in the ſale of the productions of the colony, and in ſupplying it with what they draw from abroad, their fortunes muſt neceſſarily be very conſiderable;

able; and they muſt increaſe ſtill further, in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where not above one-ſixth of the land has hitherto been cleared.

PHILADELPHIA, as well as the other cities of Pennſylvania, is entirely open. The whole country is equally without defence. This is a neceſſary conſequence of the principles of the Quakers. Theſe ſectaries cannot be too much favoured, on account of their modeſty, probity, love of labour, and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to accuſe their legiſlation of imprudence and temerity.

IT may, perhaps, be ſaid, that when the founders of the colony eſtabliſhed that civil ſecurity which protects one citizen from another, they ſhould alſo have eſtabliſhed that political ſecurity, which protects one ſtate from the incroachments of another. The authority which hath been exerted to maintain peace and good order at home, ſeems to have done nothing, if it has not prevented invaſion from abroad. To pretend that the colony would never have enemies, was to ſuppoſe the world peopled with Quakers. It was encouraging the ſtrong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and ſubmitting the whole country to the oppreſſive yoke of the firſt tyrant who ſhould think proper to ſubdue it.

BUT on the other hand, how ſhall we reconcile the ſtrictneſs of the goſpel maxims, by which the Quakers are literally governed, with thoſe military preparations, either offenſive or defenſive, which maintain a continual ſtate of war between all

Chriſtian nations? Beſides, what could the enemy do, if they were to enter Pennſylvania ſword in hand? Unleſs they maſſacred, in the ſpace of a night or a day's time, all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able totally to extirpate the race of thoſe mild and charitable men. Violence has it's boundaries in it's very exceſs; it is conſumed and extinguiſhed, as the fire in the aſhes that feed it. But virtue, when guided by humanity and by the ſpirit of benevolence, is revived as the tree under the edge of the pruning-knife. The wicked ſtand in need of numbers to execute their ſanguinary projects. But the Quaker, who is a good man, wants only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give aſſiſtance. Let then the warlike nations, let people who are either ſlaves or tyrants, go into Pennſylvania; there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their diſpoſal; not a ſingle ſoldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if theſe inhabitants be tormented, reſtrained, or oppreſſed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures deſtroyed, and their warehouſes empty. They will cultivate, and ſpread population in ſome new land; they will go round the world rather than turn their arms againſt their purſuers, or ſubmit to bear their yoke. Their enemies will have only gained the hatred of mankind, and the execration of poſterity.

May I not be deceived in what I have advanced; and may I not have miſtaken the wiſhes of my heart for a decree of truth! I am diſtreſſed

diſtreſſed even at the bare ſuſpicion. Fortunate and wiſe country! art thou then one day to experience the fatal deſtiny of other countries? art thou to be ravaged and ſubdued as they have been? Far be it from me to entertain a preſage that might tend to invalidate, in my mind, the moſt comfortable of all ideas; that there exiſts a providence who watches over the preſervation of the good! Nor let the numerous events which ſeem to depoſe the contrary have any influence over me!

It is upon this proſpect that the Pennſylvanians have founded their opinion of their future ſecurity. Beſides, as they do not perceive that the moſt warlike ſtates are the moſt permanent; that miſtruſt, which is ever upon it's guard, makes men reſt with greater tranquillity, or that there can be any ſatisfaction in the poſſeſſion of any thing that is kept with ſuch apprehenſions; they enjoy the preſent moment without any concern for the future. The people of Maryland are of a different opinion.

Origin of Maryland. Nature of it's government.

Charles the Firſt, far from having any averſion for the Catholics, as his predeceſſors, had ſome reaſon to protect them, from the zeal which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had ſhew'n for his intereſt. But when the accuſation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whoſe chief aim was to eſtabliſh a deſpotic government, he was obliged to give the Catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted againſt them by Henry the Eighth. Theſe circumſtances induced Lord Baltimore

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timore to ſeek an aſylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conſcience. As he found there no toleration for an excluſive ſyſtem of faith, which was itſelf intolerant, he formed the deſign of a new ſettlement in that uninhabited part of the country, which lay between the river of Potowmack and Pennſylvania. His death, which happened ſoon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a ſtop to the project for that time; but it was reſumed, from the ſame religious motives, by his ſon. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman Catholics, moſt of them of good families. The education they had received, the cauſe of religion for which they had left their country, and the fortune which their leader promiſed them, prevented thoſe diſturbances which are but too common in infant ſettlements. The neighbouring ſavages, won by mildneſs and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerneſs to aſſiſt the new coloniſts in forming their ſettlement. With this unexpected help, theſe fortunate perſons, attached to each other by the ſame principles of religion, and directed by the prudent counſels of their chief, applied themſelves unanimouſly to every kind of uſeful labour: the view of the peace and happineſs they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were either perſecuted for the ſame religion, or for different opinions. The Catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themſelves had been the victims, after having firſt ſet the example of them,

and

and opened the doors of their colony to all ſects, of what religious principles ſoever. They all enjoyed the rights of a city in the ſame extent; and the government was modelled upon that of the mother-country.

THESE wiſe precautions, however, did not ſecure Baltimore, at the time of the ſubverſion of the monarchy, from loſing all the conceſſions he had obtained. Deprived of his poſſeſſions by Cromwell, he was reſtored to them by Charles the Second; after which they were again diſputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-adminiſtration; and though he was extremely zealous for the Tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the intereſts of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James II. and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the juriſdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himſelf had formed at his own expence. This prince, whoſe misfortune it had always been not to diſtinguiſh his friends from his foes, and who had alſo the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was ſufficient to juſtify every act of violence, was preparing a ſecond time to deprive Baltimore of what had been given him by the two kings, his father and brother, when he was himſelf removed from the throne which he was ſo unfit to fill. The ſucceſſor of this weak deſpotic prince terminated this conteſt, which had ariſen before his acceſſion to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character:

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character: he left the Baltimores in poſſeſſion of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority. When this family, who were more regardleſs of the prejudices of religion, became members of the church of England, they were reinſtated in the hereditary government of Maryland; they began again to conduct the colony, aſſiſted by a council, and two deputies choſen by each diſtrict.

Events which have happened at Maryland.

FORTUNATELY for itſelf, Maryland hath been leſs fruitful in events than any other ſettlement formed in the Northern continent. There are only two facts worthy of being recorded in it's hiſtory.

BERKLEY, extravagantly zealous for the church of England, expelled from Virginia thoſe among it's inhabitants who did not profeſs this mode of worſhip; and they were obliged to ſeek an aſylum in the province we are now ſpeaking of. The Virginians were highly incenſed at the favourable reception which theſe people met with; and in the firſt rage of an unjuſt reſentment, they perſuaded the ſavages that their new neighbours were Spaniards. This odious name entirely changed the ſentiments of the Indians; and, without deliberation, they ravaged the grounds which they had aſſiſted in clearing; and maſſacred, without mercy, thoſe very men whom they had juſt received in a brotherly manner. It required a great deal of time, and patience, and many ſacrifices, before theſe prejudiced minds could be convinced of their miſtake.

BALTIMORE,

BALTIMORE, attending more to his reaſon than to the prejudices of education, granted an equal ſhare in the government to every different profeſſor of Chriſtianity. The Catholics were excluded from it, at the memorable period when this nobleman was deprived of his authority. The Britiſh miniſtry either could not, or would not put a ſtop to this act of fanaticiſm. It exerted it's influence only in preventing the founders of the colony from being driven out of it, and the penal laws, which were not even attended to in England, from being enforced.

Preſent ſtate of Maryland. It's cultures.

THE province is very well watered. A number of ſprings are found in it, and it is interſected by five navigable rivers. The air, which is much too damp upon the coaſts, becomes pure, light, and thin, in proportion as the ſoil becomes more elevated. Spring and autumn are moſt agreeably temperate; but in the winter there are ſome exceedingly cold days; and in ſummer, ſome in which the heat is very troubleſome. The circumſtance, however, which is the leaſt ſupportable in this country, is the great quantity of diſguſting inſects that are found there.

MARYLAND is one of the ſmalleſt provinces of North America: and accordingly, grants have been made of almoſt all the territory, both in the plains and upon the mountains. They remained for a long time either fallow, or very ill cultivated; but the labours have increaſed, ſince the population, according to the calculation of congreſs, hath amounted to three hundred and twenty thouſand inhabitants.

SEVERAL

Several of theſe are Catholics, and a great many more are Germans. Their manners have more mildneſs than energy; and this may ariſe from the women not being excluded from ſociety, as in moſt of the other parts of the continent. The men who are free, and not very rich, who are ſettled upon the high grounds, and who originally bred no flocks, cut no wood, and cultivated no corn, but for the uſe of the colony, have gradually furniſhed a great quantity of theſe articles to the Weſt Indies. The proſperity, however, of the colony, hath been more particularly owen to the ſlaves employed at a greater or leſs diſtance from the ſea, in the plantations of tobacco.

This is a ſharp cauſtic plant; formerly much uſed, as it ſtill is, ſometimes in medicine, which, if taken inwardly, in ſubſtance, is a real poiſon, more or leſs active, according to the doſe. It is chewed, ſmoaked in the leaves; and is in more general uſe as ſnuff.

It was diſcovered in the year 1520 near Tabaſco, in the Gulph of Mexico, from whence it was carried to the neighbouring iſlands. It was ſoon after introduced in our climates, where the uſe of it became a matter of diſpute among the learned, which even the ignorant took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired celebrity. By degrees faſhion and cuſtom have greatly extended it's conſumption in all parts of the know'n world.

The ſtem of this plant is ſtreight, hairy, and viſcous. It is three or four feet high. It's leaves,

leaves, equally downy, and diſpoſed alternately on the ſtem, are thick, pulpy, of a pale green, broad, oval, terminating in a point, and much larger at the foot than at the ſummit of the plant. This ſummit branches out into cluſters of flowers of a light purple hue. Their tubular calix, which hath five indentations, incloſes a corolla, lengthened out in form of a funnel, ſpread out at the top, divided into five parts, and furniſhed with as many ſtamina. The piſtil, concealed at the bottom of the flower, and terminated by a ſingle ſtyle, becomes, as it ripens, a capſula, with two cavities filled with ſmall ſeeds.

Tobacco requires a moderately binding ſoil, but rich, even, deep, and not too much expoſed to inundations. A virgin ſoil is very proper for this plant, which abſorbs a great deal of moiſture.

The ſeeds of the tobacco are ſow'n upon beds. When it is grow'n to the height of two inches, and hath got at leaſt half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up, in damp weather, and tranſplanted, with great care, into a well prepared ſoil, where the plants are placed at the diſtance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with theſe precautions, their leaves do not ſuffer the leaſt injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four-and-twenty hours.

The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which grow round it muſt be plucked up; the top of it muſt be cut off, when

when it is two feet and a half from the ground, to prevent it from growing too high; it muſt be ſtripped of all ſprouting ſuckers; the leaves which grow too near the bottom of the ſtem, thoſe that are in the leaſt inclined to decay, and thoſe which the inſects have touched, muſt all be taken off, and their number reduced to eight or ten at moſt. One induſtrious man is able to take care of two thouſand ſix hundred plants, which ought to yield one thouſand weight of tobacco.

The plant is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleaſant and lively green colour of it's leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are alſo curved, the ſcent of them grows ſtronger, and extends to a diſtance. The plant is then ripe, and muſt be cut up.

The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the ground that produced them; where they are left to exſude only for one night. The next day they are laid in warehouſes, conſtructed in ſuch a manner that the air may have free acceſs to them on all ſides. Here they are left ſeparately ſuſpended as long a time as is neceſſary to dry them properly. They are then ſpread upon hurdles, and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At laſt they are ſtripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different taſtes of the ſeveral nations

nations that uſe it, have nothing to do with it's cultivation.

The inhabitants of the Eaſt Indies, and of Africa, cultivate tobacco only for their own uſe. They neither ſell nor purchaſe any.

Salonica is the great mart for tobacco in the Levant. Syria, the Morea, or the Peloponneſus, and Egypt, ſend there all their ſuperfluous quantity, from this port it is ſent to Italy, where it is ſmoked, after it hath been mixed with the tobacco of Dalmatia and Croatia, to ſoften it's cauſtic quality.

The tobacco of theſe two laſt provinces is of a very excellent kind: but it is ſo ſtrong, that it cannot be uſed till mixed with a milder ſort.

The tobacco of Hungary would be tolerably good, if it had not generally a ſmell of ſmoke which is very diſguſting.

The Ukraine, Livonia, Pruſſia, and Pomerania, cultivate a tolerably large quantity of this production. It's leaves are wider than they are long, are very thin, and have neither flavour nor conſiſtence. In order to improve it, the court of Ruſſia hath cauſed ſome tobacco ſeeds, brought from Virginia and from Hamersfort, to be ſow'n in their colonies of Sarratow, upon the Volga; but this experiment hath been attended with little or no ſucceſs.

The tobacco of the Palatinate is very indifferent; but it hath the property of mixing with a better kind, and of acquiring it's flavour.

Holland alſo furniſhes tobacco. That which is produced in the province of Utrecht, from Hamersfort,

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Hamersfort, and from four or five neighbouring diſtricts, is of a ſuperior quality. It's leaves are large, ſupple, oily, and of a good colour. It hath the uncommon advantage of communicating it's delicious perfume to tobacco of an inferior quality. There is a great deal of this latter ſort upon the territories of the Republic; but the ſpecies which grows in Guelderland is the worſt of any.

Tobacco was formerly cultivated in France, and with more ſucceſs than any where elſe, near Pont de l'Arche in Normandy; at Verton in Picardy; and at Montauban, Tonneins, and Cleral, in Guyenne. It was prohibited in 1721, except upon ſome frontier towns, whoſe original terms of capitulation it was not thought proper to infringe. Hainault, Artois, and Franche Comté, profited very little from a liberty which the nature of their ſoil did not allow them to make uſe of. It has been more uſeful to Flanders and Alſace; for their tobaccos, though very weak, may be mixed, without inconvenience, with others of a ſuperior kind.

In the beginning, the iſlands of the New World attended to the culture of tobacco; but it was ſucceſſively ſucceeded by richer productions in them all, except at Cuba, which ſupplies all the ſnuff conſumed by the Spaniards of both hemiſpheres. It's perfume is exquiſite, but too ſtrong. The ſame crown derives from Caraccas the tobacco which is ſmoked by it's ſubjects in Europe. It is likewiſe uſed in the North, and in Holland, becauſe there is none to be found any where

where to be compared with it, for this purpoſe.

The Brazils cultivated this production very early, and have not ſince diſdained it. They have been encouraged in this purſuit, by the conſtant repute which their tobacco hath enjoyed upon the weſtern coaſts of Africa. Even in our climates, it is in tolerable requeſt among perſons who ſmoke. It could not be taken in ſnuff, on account of it's acrimony, without the preparations which it undergoes. Theſe preparations conſiſt in ſoaking every leaf in a decoction of tobacco, and of gum copal. Theſe leaves, thus ſteeped, are formed into rolls, and wrapped up in the ſkin of an ox, which keeps up their moiſture.

But the beſt tobaccos upon the face of the earth grow in the North of America; and in that part of the New World, the tobacco gathered at Maryland is of the ſecond ſort. This plant has not, however, an equal degree of perfection throughout the whole extent of the colonies. That of the growth of Cheſter and of Chouptan, reſembles the Virginia tobacco in quality, and is conſumed in France. That which grows in Patapſiſco and Potuxant, which is very fit for ſmoking, is conſumed in the North, and in Holland. Upon the northern ſhores of the Potowmack, the tobacco is excellent in the higher parts, and of moderate quality in the lower ones.

Saint Mary, formerly the capital of the ſtate, is of no conſequence at preſent; and Annapolis,

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which now enjoys this prerogative, is ſcarce more conſiderable. It is at Baltimore that almoſt all the buſineſs is tranſacted, the harbour of which can receive ſhips that draw ſeventeen feet of water. Theſe three towns, the only ones which are in the colony, are ſituated upon the bay of Cheſapeak, which runs two hundred and fifty miles up the country, and the mean breadth of which is twelve miles. There are two capes at it's entrance; and in the middle is a ſand bank. The channel which is near Cape Charles can admit none but very ſmall veſſels; while that which runs a-long-ſide Cape Henry, admits the largeſt ſhips, at any ſeaſon of the year.

What Maryland may become.

FEW of the lands between the Apalachian mountains and the ſea, are ſo good as thoſe of Maryland. Theſe, however, are in general too light, ſandy, and ſhallow, to reward the planter for his labour and expences, in as ſhort a time as in our climates. Fertility, which always attends the firſt clearing of the ſoil, is rapidly followed by an extraordinary decreaſe in the quantity and quality of the corn. The ſoil is ſtill ſooner exhauſted by the culture of tobacco. This leaf loſes much of it's ſtrength, whenever the ſame ſpot hath yielded, without intermiſſion, a few crops of tobacco. For this reaſon, inſpectors were created in 1733, who were impowered to cauſe all the tobacco to be burnt which had not the proper flavour. This was a prudent inſtitution; but it ſeems to foretell, that the moſt important production of the province muſt one day

be given up, or that it will inſenſibly be reduced to very little.

THEN, or perhaps before, the iron mines, which are in great abundance in the colony, will be worked. This is a ſource of proſperity which hath not hitherto been carried beyond the uſe of ſeventeen or eighteen forges. A greater degree of liberty, and new wants, will communicate more ſtrength and more activity to the coloniſts.

OTHER manufactures will alſo undoubtedly ariſe. Maryland had never any of any kind. It received from Great Britain all the articles it wanted for the moſt ordinary purpoſes of life. This was one of the reaſons which occaſioned it's being burthened with debts. Mr. Stirenwith hath at length eſtabliſhed manufactures for ſtockings, for ſilk, woollen, and cotton ſtuffs, and for all kinds of hardware, even fire-arms. Theſe branches of induſtry, at preſent united in one manufacture, at a conſiderable expence, and with extraordinary ſagacity, will be more or leſs rapidly diſperſed throughout the province; and, croſſing the Potowmack, will be likewiſe adopted at Virginia.

In what manner Virginia was eſtabliſhed, and by whom.

THIS other colony, with the ſame kind of ſoil and of climate as Maryland, hath a few advantages over the latter. It's extent is much more conſiderable. It's rivers can admit larger ſhips, and allow them a longer navigation. It's inhabitants have a more elevated turn of mind; have more reſolution, and are more enterpriſing: this

may be attributed to their being generally of Engliſh extraction.

VIRGINIA was, about two centuries ago, the only country which England intended to occupy on the continent of North America. This name doth not at preſent belong to any thing more than the ſpace which is bounded by Maryland on one ſide, and by Carolina on the other.

THE Engliſh landed upon theſe ſavage ſhores in 1606, and their firſt ſettlement was James Town. Unfortunately, the object that firſt preſented itſelf to them, was a rivulet, which, iſſuing from a ſand-bank, carried along with it, a quantity of talc, which glittered at the bottom of a clear and running water. In an age when gold and ſilver were the only objects of men's reſearches, this deſpicable ſubſtance was immediately taken for ſilver. The firſt and only employment of the new coloniſts was to collect it; and the illuſion was carried ſo far, that two ſhips, which arrived there with neceſſaries, were ſent home ſo fully freighted with theſe imaginary riches, that there ſcarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as this infatuation laſted, the coloniſts diſdained to employ themſelves in clearing the lands; ſo that a dreadful famine was at length the conſequence of this fooliſh pride. Sixty men only remained alive out of five hundred who had been ſent from Europe. Theſe unfortunate few, having only a fortnight's proviſion left, were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland, when Lord Delaware arrived there

there with three ſhips, a freſh colony, and ſupplies of all kinds.

History has deſcribed this nobleman to us as a man whoſe genius raiſed him above the common prejudices of the times. His diſintereſtedneſs was equal to his knowlege. In accepting the government of the colony, which was ſtill in it's infancy, he had no motive but to gratify the inclination a virtuous mind has to do good, and to ſecure the eſteem of poſterity, which is the ſecond reward of that generoſity that devotes itſelf totally to the ſervice of the public. As ſoon as he appeared, the knowlege of his character procured him univerſal reſpect. He firſt endeavoured to reconcile the wretched coloniſts to their fatal country, to comfort them in their ſufferings, and to make them hope for a ſpeedy concluſion of them. After this, joining the firmneſs of an enlightened magiſtrate to the tenderneſs of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an uſeful end. Unfortunately for the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health ſoon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never loſt ſight of his favourite coloniſts, nor ever failed to make uſe of all his credit and intereſt at court to ſupport them.

The colony, however, made but little progreſs, a circumſtance that was attributed to the oppreſſion of excluſive privileges. The company which exerciſed them was diſſolved upon Charles the Firſt's acceſſion to the throne. Before that period, all the authority had been entirely in the hands of the monopoly. Virginia then came under the

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immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of 2 livres 5 ſols *, upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

Till this time the coloniſts had know'n no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himſelf in the place he liked beſt, without conſulting any titles or agreements. At length boundaries were aſcertained, and thoſe who had been ſo long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The eſtabliſhment of this firſt law of ſociety changed the appearance of every thing. Freſh plantations aroſe on all ſides. This activity drew great numbers of enterprizing men over to Virginia, who came either in ſearch of fortune, or of liberty, which is the only compenſation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the conſtitution of England added to theſe a multitude of Royaliſts, who went there with a reſolution to wait, with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was alſo attached to king Charles, the fate of that deſerted monarch. Berkley ſtill continued to protect them, even after the king's death; but ſome of the inhabitants, either brought over or bribed, and ſupported by the appearance of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony to the Protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the ſtream againſt his will, he was, at leaſt, among thoſe whom Charles had honoured with poſts of con-

* 1 s. 10½ d.

fidence

fidence and rank, the laſt who ſubmitted to Cromwell, and the firſt who ſhook off his yoke. This brave man was ſinking under the oppreſſion of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his ſucceſſor's death had left vacant; but far from yielding to theſe flattering ſolicitations, he declared that he never would ſerve any but the legitimate heir of the dethroned monarch. Such an example of magnanimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the reſtoration of the royal family, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the people, that Charles the Second was proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

Obſtacles to the proſperity of Virginia.

THE colony did not, however, receive from ſo generous a ſtep all the benefit that might have been expected. The new monarch, either from weakneſs or corruption, granted to rapacious courtiers immenſe territories, which abſorbed the poſſeſſions of a great number of obſcure citizens. The act of navigation, ſuggeſted by the Protector for the purpoſe of ſecuring to the mother-country the ſupplying of all their ſettlements in the New World with proviſions, and the excluſive trade of all their productions, was obſerved with ſuch rigour, as to double almoſt the value of the articles to be purchaſed by Virginia, and leſſen ſtill more the value of what they had to ſell. This double oppreſſion exhauſted all the reſources, and diſpelled all the hopes of the colony; and to complete it's misfortunes, the ſavages attacked it with a degree of ſpirit and ſkill which

they had not manifeſted in any of the preceding wars.

SCARCE had the Engliſh landed in theſe unknow'n regions, than they had diſpoſed the natives againſt them by the diſhoneſty they had practiſed in their exchanges. This ſource of diſcord might have been put a ſtop to, had the Engliſh conſented to take Indian wives, as they were ſolicited to do. But although they had not yet any European women with them, they rejected this connection with diſdain. This contempt exaſperated the Americans, already alienated by their want of faith, and they became irreconcileable enemies. Their hatred was manifeſted by ſecret aſſaſſinations, and by public hoſtilities, and in 1622, by a conſpiracy, in which three hundred and thirty-four people loſt their lives, and which would even have deſtroyed the whole colony, had not the commanders been apprized of the danger a few hours before the time appointed for a general maſſacre.

SINCE this act of treachery, many atrocious ones have been committed on both ſides. Truces between the two nations were unfrequent, and ill obſerved. The rupture was uſually begun by the Engliſh. The leſs profit they drew from their plantations, the more artifice and force did they employ to deprive the ſavages of their furs. This inſatiable avidity, which indiſcriminately ſeized upon all the inhabitants, whether ſettled or wandering, in the neighbourhood of the colony, made the Americans again take up arms, towards the end of the year 1675. They all, by agreement,

ment, fell upon the ſettlements, imprudently diſperſed, and at too great a diſtance to afford each other any aſſiſtance.

Such a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to deſpair. Berkley, who had ſo long been their idol, was accuſed of wanting fortitude to reſiſt the oppreſſions of the mother-country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the ſavages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence, and intrepidity, of an inſinuating diſpoſition, and an agreeable perſon. They choſe him for their general, in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military ſucceſſes might have juſtified this prepoſſeſſion of the licentious multitude, yet this circumſtance did not prevent the governor, who, with his remaining partiſans, had retired on the borders of the Potowmack, from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A ſentence ſo ſevere, and which was ill-timed, determined Bacon to aſſume a power by force, which he had exerciſed peaceably, and without oppoſition, for ſix months. Death put an end to all his projects. The malecontents, diſunited by the loſs of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to ſue for pardon, which was readily granted them. The rebellion, therefore, was attended with no bad conſequences, and mercy inſured ſubmiſſion.

Tranquillity was no ſooner reſtored, than means were thought of to reconcile the Indians, with whom all intercourſe had for ſome time been

at an end. The communications were opened again in the year 1678, by the general aſſembly; but it was ſtipulated, that the exchanges ſhould be made in no other markets, except ſuch as were ſettled by themſelves. This innovation diſpleaſed the ſavages, and matters ſoon returned to their former courſe.

The raiſing of the value of tobacco was a ſtill more important object, as this was the moſt conſiderable, and almoſt the only production of the colony. It was thought that nothing would contribute more effectually to raiſe it from the ſtate of degradation into which it had fallen, than to refuſe the tobaccos which were brought to Virginia from Maryland and from Carolina, and to ſend them to Europe. If the legiſlators had been better informed, they would have underſtood, that this ſtaple muſt neceſſarily, ſooner or later, draw into their own hands the freight of this commodity, and would make them the arbiters of it's price. By ſending it away from their ports, through an ill-judged motive of avarice, they drew upon themſelves, in all the markets, competitors, who convinced them by dear-bought experience of the error of their principles.

These arrangements were ſcarcely made, before there arrived a new governor to the colony, in the ſpring of 1679. This was Lord Colepepper. The troubles with which this ſettlement had been ſo recently agitated, encouraged him to propoſe a law, which ſhould condemn to one year's impriſonment, or to a fine of 11,250 livres,

livres *, all thoſe citizens who ſhould ſpeak or write any thing againſt their governor; and to three months impriſonment, or to a fine of 2250 livres †, thoſe who ſhould ſpeak or write againſt the members of the council, or againſt any other magiſtrate.

Was this governor apprehenſive then, that the faults of adminiſtration, and the diſhoneſty of it's adminiſtrators, ſhould be ſuſpected? In what part of the world would not the ſame conſequences be draw'n from the impoſing of ſilence? Is it praiſe or cenſure that is feared, when the command for ſilence is iſſued? Theſe prohibitions calumniate the government, if it be good, becauſe they tend to perſuade that it is not ſo. But what meaſures can be adopted to enforce the obſervance of theſe prohibitions? Can we be ignorant, that it is the nature of man to attempt thoſe actions, which, by becoming dangerous, have a ſenſe of glory attached to them? To oppreſs a man, and to prevent him from murmuring and complaining, is an atrocious act of violence againſt which he never fails to revolt. But how will the government diſcover thoſe who are rebellious to their orders? This can only be done by ſpies, by informations, and by all thoſe meaſures which will certainly divide the citizens, and raiſe miſtruſt and hatred among them. Whom will government puniſh? The moſt honeſt and the moſt generous men, who will never be ſilent when they are perſuaded that it is their duty to

* 468 l. 15 s. † 93 l. 15 s.

ſpeak

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ſpeak out. They will certainly bid defiance to menaces, or will know how to elude them. If they ſhould adopt the firſt of theſe reſolutions, will government dare to impriſon them? and if it ſhould, would they not ſoon find perſons to avenge them? If it ſhould not, they would fall into contempt. If theſe men had been allowed to explain themſelves with frankneſs, they would have blended dignity and moderation in their remonſtrances. Conſtraint, and the danger of puniſhment, will transform theſe remonſtrances into violent, bitter, and ſeditious libels; and it is the tyranny of government that will have rendered them guilty. Sovereigns, or you who are depoſitaries of their authority, if your adminiſtration be a good one, deliver it up to all the ſeverity of our examination; it can only inſure our reſpect and ſubmiſſion. If it be a bad one, correct it, or defend it by force. If you be a ſet of abominable tyrants, have at leaſt the courage to acknowlege it. If you be juſt, let the people talk and ſleep in peace. If you be oppreſſors, tranquillity and ſleep are not made for you, nor will you ever enjoy them, notwithſtanding all your efforts. Remember the fate of him who was willing to be hated, provided he might be feared. You will certainly experience the ſame, unleſs you be ſurrounded by vile ſlaves, ſuch as the inhabitants of Virginia at that time undoubtedly were. The repreſentatives of this province granted, without heſitation, their conſent to a law, which ſecured impunity to all the plunders of

of their governors. The misfortunes of Virginia were ſoon aggravated by other calamities.

At the origin of the colony, juſtice was adminiſtered with a degree of diſintereſtedneſs, which warranted the equity of the judgments. One ſingle court took cognizance of all differences, and decided upon them in a few days, with a right of appeal to the general aſſembly, which uſed as much diſpatch in ſettling them. This order of things gave the governors too little influence over the fortunes of individuals, for them not to endeavour to ſuppreſs it. By their manœuvres, and under ſeveral pretences, they obtained that the appeals, which till then had been carried before the repreſentatives of the province, ſhould be made excluſively to their council.

A still more fatal innovation was ordained in 1692, by another governor, who enacted, that the laws, the tribunals, the formalities, every thing, in a word, that contributed to form the chaos of Engliſh juriſprudence, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his government. Nothing was leſs ſuitable to the planters of Virginia, than ſtatutes ſo ſingular, ſo complicated, and often ſo contradictory. Accordingly, theſe uninformed men found themſelves engaged in a labyrinth to which they could find no iſſue. They were generally alarmed for their rights and their properties; and this apprehenſion ſlackened their labours for a long time.

These were not carried on with vigour and ſucceſs, till after the beginning of the century, at which time nothing impeded their increaſe; only the

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the frontiers of the colony were expoſed in the latter times to the devaſtations of the ſavages, whom they had exaſperated by their acts of atrociouſneſs and injuſtice. Theſe differences were terminated in 1774. They would have been forgotten, had it not been for the ſpeech made by Logan, chief of the Shawaneſes, to Lord Dunmore, governor of the province.

"I now aſk of every white man, whether he "hath ever entered the cottage of Logan, when "preſſed with hunger, and been refuſed food? "Whether coming naked, and ſhivering with "cold, Logan hath not given him ſomething to "cover himſelf with. During the courſe of this "laſt war, ſo long and ſo bloody, Logan hath "remained quietly upon his mat, wiſhing to be "the advocate of peace. Yes, ſuch is my at-"tachment for white men, that even thoſe of "my nation, when they paſſed by me, pointed "at me, ſaying, *Logan is a friend to white men.* "I had even thought of living amongſt you; "but that was before the injury which I have "received from one of you. Laſt ſummer, "Colonel Creſſop maſſacred in cool blood, and "without any provocation, all the relations of "Logan, without ſparing either his wife or his "children. There is not now one drop of my "blood in the veins of any human creature ex-"iſting. This is what has excited my revenge. "I have ſought it; I have killed ſeveral of "your people, and my hatred is appeaſed. I re-"joice at ſeeing the proſpect of peace brighten "upon my country. But do not imagine that my

"joy

"joy is inſtigated by fear. Logan knows not "what fear is. He will never turn his back, "in order to ſave his life. But, alas! no one "remains to mourn for Logan when he ſhall "be no more!"

WHAT a beautiful, ſimple, energetic, and affecting ſpeech! Are Demoſthenes, Cicero, or Boſſuet, more eloquent than this ſavage? What better proof can be adduced of the truth of that well-know'n maxim, which ſays, that *from the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpeaks.*

Population, trade, and manners of Virginia.

VIRGINIA, like moſt of the other colonies, was inhabited at firſt only by vagabonds, deſtitute of family and fortune. They ſoon obtained ſome kind of wealth by labour, and they were deſirous of ſharing the ſweets of it with a female companion. As there were no women in the province, and that they would have none but ſuch as were decent, they gave 2250 livres * for every young perſon brought them from Europe with a certificate of virtue and chaſtity. This cuſtom was not of long duration. As ſoon as all doubts reſpecting the ſalubrity and fertility of the country were removed, whole families, even of reſpectable rank, went to Virginia. The population was increaſing with ſome degree of rapidity, when it's progreſs was ſtopped by fanaticiſm.

THE religion of the mother-country was the firſt, and ſoon became the only one which was followed in this province, when ſome Non-conformiſts alſo croſſed the ſeas. Their tenets, or

* 93 l. 15 s.

their

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their ceremonies, diſguſted; and in 1642 a law was made, which expelled from the province all thoſe inhabitants who did not belong to the church of England. The imperious law of neceſſity ſoon cauſed the revocation of this fatal decree: but a toleration ſo tardy, and which was evidently granted with reluctance, did not produce the great effects that were expected from it. A ſmall number only of Preſbyterians, Quakers, and French refugees, ventured to put any truſt in this repentance. The religion of Henry VIII. continued to be the prevailing one, and was almoſt excluſive.

In proceſs of time, however, men multiplied upon this ſoil, the fertility of which was daily increaſing in reputation. The paſſion for riches with which the Old Continent was more and more infected, gave citizens inceſſantly to this part of the New World. If the calculations of congreſs be not exaggerated, the population amounts to ſix hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls, including the ſlaves, whoſe number, according to the common opinion, amounts to one hundred and fifty thouſand. The Dutch firſt introduced theſe unfortunate people into the colony in 1620.

The labours of theſe white men, and of theſe negroes, give to the two hemiſpheres, corn, maize, dry vegetables, iron, hemp, hides, furs, ſalt meats, tar, wood, maſts, and eſpecially tobacco, which is generally ſuperior to that of Maryland, though it be not equally excellent in every part of the province. The preference is given to that of York River; the ſecond beſt is reckoned

reckoned to be that which grows along James's Rver, and that which grows on the borders of the Rappahanoc, and to the ſouth of the Potowmack, is the leaſt eſteemed.

From 1752 till the end of 1755, Great Britain received from Virginia and Maryland together, three million five hundred one thouſand one hundred and ten quintals of tobacco, which made for each of the four years, eight hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand two hundred and fourſcore quintals. Virginia exported two million nine hundred and eighty-nine thouſand eight hundred quintals, which reduced it's annual conſumption to one hundred and twenty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred and thirty quintals.

From the year 1763, till the end of 1770, the two colonies ſent to the mother-country no more than ſix million five hundred thouſand quintals of tobacco, or eight hundred and twelve thouſand five hundred quintals each of the eight years. No more was ſold to foreigners than five million one hundred and forty-eight thouſand quintals, or ſix hundred and forty-three thouſand five hundred quintals per annum; the nation therefore annually conſumed one hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand quintals.

In the interval between theſe two periods the importation, therefore, decreaſed annually, one year with another, ſixty-two thouſand ſeven hundred and fourſcore quintals, and the exportation one hundred and three thouſand nine hundred and fifty quintals; while the conſumption in England increaſed forty-one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy quintals every year.

THE uſe of tobacco hath not decreaſed in Europe; the paſſion for this ſuperfluity hath even increaſed, notwithſtanding the heavy duties with which it hath been burthened by all governments. If the tobacco furniſhed by North America be daily leſs ſought after among us, it is becauſe, Holland, Alſatia, the Palatinate, and principally Ruſſia, have carried on this culture with great induſtry.

IN 1769, Virginia and Maryland together ſold to the amount of 16,195,577 livres 4 ſols 7 deniers * of their productions. Two-thirds of this ſum belonged to the firſt of theſe ſettlements. Tobacco was the principal of theſe productions; ſince one of the colonies exported fifty-ſeven million three hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-five pounds weight of it; and the other, twenty-five million ſeven hundred and eighty-one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-nine pounds weight.

IN Virginia, veſſels employed for the exportation of theſe productions do not find them collected in a ſmall number of ſtaples, as in the other commercial ſtates of the globe. They are obliged to form their cargo by detail from the plantations themſelves, which are ſituated at a greater or leſs diſtance from the ocean, upon navigable rivers, of one or two hundred miles in length. This cuſtom fatigues the navigators, and makes their voyage tedious. Great Britain, which is always attentive to the preſervation of

* About 674,815 l. 14 s. 4½ d.

her

her ſeamen, and is particularly careful of leſſening the number of their voyages, wiſhed, and even ordered, that ſome towns ſhould be built at the mouth of the rivers, where the productions of the province might be ſent. But neither inſinuations, nor the conſtraint of the laws, were of any avail. A few ſmall villages only were built, which could ſcarce fulfil even the leaſt part of the views of the mother-country. Williamſburg itſelf, hath no more than two thouſand inhabitants, though it be the reſidence of the governor, the place where the national aſſemblies, and the courts of juſtice are holden, and where colleges are inſtituted; though it be decorated with the fineſt public edifices on the Northern continent; and though it be the capital of the colony, ſince the ruin of James-town.

Men, who prefer the tranquillity of a rural life to the tumultuous abode of cities, ought naturally to be œconomical and laborious; but this was never the caſe in Virginia. It's inhabitants were always very expenſive in the furniture of their houſes; they were always fond of entertaining their neighbours with oſtentation. They always liked to diſplay the greateſt luxury before the Engliſh navigators, whom buſineſs brought to their plantations. They always gave themſelves up to that effeminacy, and to that negligence, ſo common in countries where ſlavery is eſtabliſhed. Accordingly, the engagements of the colony became habitually very conſiderable. At the beginning of the troubles, they were ſup-

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poſed to amount to 25,000,000 of livres*. This prodigious ſum was due to the merchants of Great Britain, for Negroes, or for other articles, which they had furniſhed. The confidence of theſe bold lenders was particularly founded upon an unjuſt law, which ſecured their payment in preference to every other debt, though previouſly contracted.

THE colony hath great powers to extricate itſelf from a ſituation apparently ſo deſperate. It will ſucceed, when more ſimplicity ſhall prevail in the manners, and more moderation in the expences; when availing itſelf of the reſources offered by an immenſe and fertile territory, it ſhall vary and improve it's cultures; it will ſucceed, when it ſhall no longer receive from foreigners the moſt ordinary houſehold furniture, and that which is in moſt general uſe; when it's manufactures ſhall no longer be confined to the employing of ſome ſmall quantities of cotton, which is of too indifferent a quality to be ſought for in the European manufactures; and when it's public coffers, leſs plundered, and better regulated, ſhall admit of the diminution of the taxes, which are much more conſiderable in that province than in any other of this continent. Several of theſe counſels may concern the two Carolinas.

Origin of the two Carolinas. Their firſt and their

THE vaſt country which theſe provinces occupy, was diſcovered by the Spaniards, ſoon after their firſt expeditions in the New World; they

* 1,041,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

deſpiſed

laſt government, both civil and religious.

deſpiſed it, becauſe it did not offer any gold to their avarice. Admiral Coligny, more wiſe, and more able, opened there a ſource of induſtry to the French proteſtants; but fanaticiſm, which purſued them, ruined their hopes by the aſſaſſination of this juſt, humane, and enlightened man. They were ſucceeded by a few Engliſhmen towards the end of the ſixteenth century; who by an inexplicable caprice forſook this infant ſettlement, to go and cultivate a harſher ſoil, under a leſs temperate climate.

THERE was not a ſingle European ſeen in Carolina, when the lords Berkley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven, Aſhley, and Meſſrs. Carteret, Berkley, and Colleton, obtained from Charles II. in 1663, a grant of this fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was draw'n up by the famous Locke. A philoſopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and juſtice which ſhould be the only rule of their actions, ought to have deſtroyed the very foundations of that fanaticiſm, which in all countries hath excited diviſions among them, and which will induce them to take up arms againſt each other to the end of time.

INTOLERATION, however horrid it may appear to us, is a neceſſary conſequence of the ſpirit of ſuperſtition. Will it not be acknowleged, that puniſhments ſhould be proportioned to the nature of offences? What crime then can be greater than that of infidelity, in the eyes of him who conſiders religion as the fundamental baſis of morality? According to theſe principles, the

irreligious man is the common enemy of all ſociety; the breaker of the only tie that connects men with each other; the promoter of all the crimes that may eſcape the ſeverity of the laws. It is he who ſtifles every remorſe, who ſets the paſſions looſe from every reſtraint, and who keeps, as it were, a ſchool of wickedneſs. What! ſhall we lead to the gibbet an unfortunate man, whom indigence conceals upon the highway, who ruſhes out upon the traveller with a piſtol in his hand, and demands a ſmall pittance that may be neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of his wife and children, who may be expiring with miſery; and ſhall we pardon a robber infinitely more dangerous? We think meanly of the man who ſuffers his friend to be ill ſpoken of in his preſence; and ſhall we require that the religious man ſhall ſuffer the infidel to blaſpheme his Maſter, his Father, and his Creator with impunity? We muſt either admit that all faith is abſurd, or we muſt put up with intoleration as a neceſſary evil. Saint Lewis reaſoned very conſiſtently when he ſaid to Joinville, *If thou ſhouldſt ever hear any one ſpeak ill of God, draw thy ſword and ſtab him through the heart; I allow thee to do it.* So important it is in all countries, as we are aſſured is the caſe in China, that ſovereigns, and the depoſitaries of their authority, ſhould not be attached to any tenet, to any ſect, nor to any form of religious worſhip.

EVERY thing induces us to imagine that ſuch was the opinion of Locke. But not daring to attack too openly the prejudices of the times, founded equally on virtues and vices, he wiſhed

to

to conciliate them as much as could be conſiſtent with a principle dictated by reaſon and humanity. As the ſavage inhabitants of America, ſaid he, have no idea of a revelation, it would be the height of folly to torment them for their ignorance. Thoſe Chriſtians who ſhould come to people the colony, would undoubtedly come in queſt of a liberty of conſcience, which prieſts and princes deny them in Europe: it would therefore not be conſiſtent with good faith to perſecute, after having received them. The Jews and the Pagans did not more deſerve to be rejected, for an infatuation which mildneſs and perſuaſion might have put a ſtop to.

THUS it was that the Engliſh philoſopher reaſoned with men whoſe minds were imbued and prejudiced with tenets which it had not yet been allowed to diſcuſs. Out of regard to their weakneſs, he placed the ſyſtem of toleration which he was eſtabliſhing under the following reſtriction: that every perſon above ſeventeen years of age, who ſhould claim the protection of the laws, ſhould cauſe his name to be regiſtered in ſome communion. This was a breach made in his ſyſtem. The liberty of conſcience admits of no kind of modification. This is an account which man owes to God alone. In whatever manner the magiſtrate may be made to interfere in it, it is an act of injuſtice. A Deiſt could not poſſibly ſubſcribe to ſuch terms.

CIVIL liberty, however, was much leſs favoured by Locke. Whether this proceeded from motives of complaiſance for thoſe who employed him, a kind

of meanneſs which we are averſe from ſuſpecting him of; or whether, being more of a metaphyſician than a ſtateſman, he had purſued philoſophy only in thoſe tracts which had been opened by Deſcartes and Leibnitz, it is certain, that the ſame man who had diſſipated and deſtroyed ſo many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the paths of legiſlation. The author of a work, the permanency of which will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny ſhall have broken all the ſprings, and all the monuments of the genius of a people eſteemed by the whole world for ſo many brilliant and amiable qualities; even Monteſquieu himſelf did not perceive that he was making men for governments, inſtead of governments for men.

The code of Carolina, by a ſingularity not to be accounted for in an Engliſhman and in a philoſopher, gave to the eight proprietors who founded the ſettlement, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of ſovereignty, but all the powers of legiſlation.

The firſt uſe theſe ſovereigns made of their authority was to create three orders of nobility. Thoſe to whom they gave no more than twelve thouſand acres of land were called barons; thoſe who received twenty-four thouſand were called caciques, and the title of landgrave was beſtowed on thoſe two who obtained fourſcore thouſand each. Theſe conceſſions could never be alienated in detail, and their fortunate poſſeſſors were alone to form the houſe of peers. The houſe of commons

commons was compoſed of the repreſentatives of the towns and counties, but with privileges leſs conſiderable than in the mother-country. The aſſembly was called a court palatine. Every tenant was obliged to pay annually 1 livre 2 ſols 6 deniers * per acre, but he was allowed to redeem this duty.

The progreſs of this great ſettlement, was for too long a time impeded by powerful obſtacles.

The colony had from it's origin been open indiſcriminately to all ſects, which had all enjoyed the ſame privileges. It had been underſtood, that this was the only way to make an infant ſtate acquire rapid and great proſperity. The members of the church of England being afterwards jealous of the non-conformiſts, wanted to exclude them from government, and even to oblige them to ſhut up the houſes where they performed divine ſervice. Theſe acts of folly and of violence were annulled in 1706 by the mother-country, as being contrary to humanity, to juſtice, to reaſon, and to policy. From the colliſion of theſe opinions aroſe cabals and tumults, which diverted the inhabitants from uſeful labours, and turned their attention to a multitude of abſurdities, which will be never ſo much deſpiſed as they deſerve to be.

Two wars, which were carried on againſt the ſavages, were almoſt as extravagant and as deſtructive of every improvement. All the wandering or fixed nations between the ocean and the

* 11¼d.

Apalachian

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Apalachian mountains, were attacked and maſſacred without any intereſt or motive; thoſe who eſcaped being put to the ſword, either ſubmitted or were diſperſed. In the mean while, a form of conſtitution ill arranged, was the principal cauſe of an almoſt general indolence. The lords who were proprietors, imbued with deſpotic principles, uſed their utmoſt efforts to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government. The coloniſts, on the other hand, who were not ignorant of the rights of mankind, exerted themſelves with equal warmth to avoid ſervitude. It was neceſſary either to eſtabliſh a new order of things, or to ſuffer, that a vaſt country, from which ſuch great advantages had been expected, ſhould remain in perpetual humiliation, miſery, and anarchy. The Britiſh ſenate at length took the reſolution, in 1728, to reſtore this fine country to the nation, and to grant to it's firſt maſters 540,000 livres * in compenſation. Granville alone, from motives which are unknow'n to us, was left in poſſeſſion of his eighth ſhare, which was ſituated on the confines of Virginia: but even this part was not long before it recovered it's independence. The Engliſh government, as it was already eſtabliſhed in the other provinces of the New World, was ſubſtituted to the whimſical arrangement, which, in times of extreme corruption, had been extorted from an indolent and weak monarch, by inſatiable favourites. The country might then expect to proſper. It was divided into two diſtinct

* 22,500 l.

governments,

governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the adminiſtration of it.

Conformities between the two Carolinas.

THE two countries united, occupy more than four hundred thouſand miles upon the coaſt, and about two hundred thouſand miles in the inland parts. It is a plain, in general ſandy, which is rendered very marſhy by the overflowing of the rivers, and by heavy and frequent rains. The ſoil doth not begin to riſe, till at the diſtance of fourſcore or a hundred miles from the ſea; and it continues riſing as far as the Apalachian mountains. Upon theſe latitudes, and in the midſt of pine-trees, which are irregularly placed there by nature, a few ſheep, extremely degenerated, both in their fleſh and in their fleece, feed upon a ſtrong and coarſe graſs; there are alſo a number of horned cattle, who have not preſerved all their ſtrength and all their beauty; and an innumerable quantity of hogs, who appear to have improved.

THE country is watered by a great number of rivers, ſome of which are navigable. They would be ſo for a longer ſpace, were it not for the rocks and the water-falls which interrupt the navigation.

THOUGH the climate be as variable as the reſt of North America, it is commonly agreeably temperate. A piercing cold is never felt but in the evening and morning, and there are ſeldom any exceſſive heats. Though fogs be frequent, they are at leaſt diſpelled in the middle of the day. Unfortunately, in the months of July, Auguſt,

August, September, and October, intermittent fevers prevail in the plains, and are sometimes fatal to the natives themselves, and, too often, destroy foreigners.

Such is the natural organisation of the two Carolinas; let us see what distinguishes them from each other.

What distinguishes North Carolina.

North Carolina is one of the largest provinces of the continent; it unfortunately doth not offer advantages proportioned to it's extent. It's soil is generally flatter, more sandy, and more marshy, than that of South Carolina. These melancholy plains are covered with pines or cedars, which announce a barren soil; and are intersected at intervals by a small number of oaks, too full of sap to be employed in the construction of ships. The coasts, generally blocked up by a sand bank, which keeps navigators at a distance, are not more favourable to population than the inland countries. Finally, the country is more exposed than the neighbouring regions to the hurricanes that come from the South-East.

These were undoubtedly the motives which prevented the English of North Carolina from settling there, though that country was the first which they discovered in the New World. None of the numerous people who were driven to that part of the hemisphere, either from inclination or necessity, carried there their misery or their restlessness. It was long after, that a few vagabonds, without friends, without laws, and without plan to fix themselves, settled there. But,

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In proceſs of time, the lands in the other colonies became ſcarce, and then men who were not able to purchaſe them, betook themſelves to a country where they could get lands without purchaſe. According to the account of congreſs, three hundred thouſand ſouls, in which few ſlaves are included, are ſtill found in the province. There are but few of theſe inhabitants which are either Engliſh, Iriſh, or German. Moſt of them are of Scotch origin, and for this reaſon:

These Highlanders, whoſe character has been ſo boldly deſcribed by a maſterly hand, were never enſlaved either by the Romans, the Saxons, or the Danes. They bravely repulſed every invaſion, and no foreign cuſtoms could penetrate beyond the foot of their inacceſſible habitations. Separated from the reſt of the globe, they diſplayed in their manners the politeneſs of courts, without having any of their vices; their countenance ſhewed the pride with which the nobility of their origin had inſpired them; and they were poſſeſſed of all the delicacy of our point of honour, but without it's ſuſpicious minutiæ. As induſtry had not transformed them into mere machines, and as the nature of their ſoil and climate did not require the labours of the fields for more than two ſeaſons in the year, they had a great deal of leiſure time, which they employed in war, in hunting, in dancing, or in converſations animated by picturesque expreſſions, and original ideas. Moſt of them were muſicians. Schools were every where opened for

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for the inſtruction of youth. Under every roof was found one hiſtorian, to recall to their minds great events, and a poet to celebrate them. The lakes, the foreſts, the caves, the cataracts, the majeſtic grandeur of all the objects that ſurrounded them, inſpired them with an elevation of mind, caſt a ſhade of melancholy over their characters, and kept up in their hearts a ſacred enthuſiaſm. Theſe people eſteemed themſelves, without deſpiſing other nations. Their aſpect ſtruck the civilized man with awe, in whom they only beheld one of their equals, whatever title he might be decorated with. They received all foreigners who came to them with a ſimple and cordial affection. They kept a long time in their memory, a reſentment for any injury offered to any of them: which was rendered common to them all by the ties of blood. After an engagement they dreſſed their enemies wounds before their own. As they were always armed, the habitual uſe of deſtructive weapons, prevented them from having any fear of them. They believed in ſpirits; and if the lightning ſhone during the night, if thunder rolled over their heads, if the ſtorm rooted up the trees around their houſes, or ſhook their roofs, they imagined that it was ſome forgotten hero reproaching them for their ſilence: they then took up their inſtruments, and ſang a hymn to his honour; they aſſured him that his memory would never be forgotten among the children of men. They believed in preſages and in divination. They all ſubmitted to the eſtabliſhed

form of worſhip; ſuperſtition never excited quarrels among them, nor cauſed the effuſion of one drop of blood.

THESE manners were never altered; nor could they be ſo. The Scotch formed a great number of tribes, called *clans*; each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the eſtate of ſome particular lord. It was the hereditary patriarch of a family, from whom they all claimed their deſcent, and they all knew to what degree.

THE caſtle was in ſome meaſure a common property, where every perſon was ſure of meeting with an honourable reception, and where they all reſorted upon the firſt rumour of war. They all revered their own dignity in their chief; they had a brotherly affection for the other members of the confederation. They all patiently ſupported their fate, becauſe it never had any thing humiliating in it. The head of the clan, on his ſide, was the common father of them all, as well from gratitude as from intereſt.

THIS order of things ſubſiſted during a long ſeries of ages, without the leaſt alteration. At laſt the noblemen contracted the habit of ſpending a great part of their lives in travelling, at London, or at court. Theſe repeated abſences detached from them their vaſſals, who ſaw them leſs frequently, and were no longer aſſiſted by them. Theſe men, who were no longer reſtrained by any tie of affection in their barren and ſavage mountains, then diſperſed themſelves. Several of them went in ſearch of another country, in divers provinces of America. The greateſt

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greateſt number took refuge in North Carolina.

THESE coloniſts are ſeldom aſſembled together, and they are therefore the leaſt informed of the Americans, and the moſt indifferent to the public intereſt. Moſt of them live diſperſed upon their plantations, without ambition or foreſight. They are but little inclined to labour, and they are ſeldom good planters. Though they have the Engliſh form of government, the laws have very little force among them. Their domeſtic are better than their ſocial manners, and there is ſcarce an inſtance of any one of them having had any connection with a ſlave. Their food conſiſts of pork, milk, and maize; and they can be accuſed of no other kind of intemperance, than an inordinate paſſion for ſpirituous liquors.

THE firſt unfortunate people whom chance diſperſed along theſe ſavage coaſts, confined themſelves to the cutting of wood, which they delivered to the navigators, who came to purchaſe it. In a ſhort time they collected from the pine tree, which covered the country, turpentine, tar, and pitch. To collect the turpentine it was ſufficient to make inciſions in the trunk of the tree, which being carried on to the foot of it, terminated in veſſels placed there to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raiſed a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pines; to theſe they ſet fire, and the reſin diſtilled from them into caſks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it, or in pits

pits formed of potter's earth into which it was poured while in a fluid ſtate. In proceſs of time, the province was enabled to furniſh Europe with hides, a ſmall quantity of wax, a few furs, ten or twelve millions weight of an inferior kind of tobacco; and the Weſt Indies, with a great quantity of ſalt pork, maize, dried vegetables, a ſmall quantity of indifferent flour, and ſeveral objects of leſs importance. The exportations of the colony did not, however, exceed twelve or fifteen hundred thouſand livres *.

North Carolina hath not yet attended to the exportation of it's own productions. What it's ſoil furniſhes to the New Hemiſphere, hath been hitherto taken away by the navigators of the North of America; who brought in exchange rum, of which it hath ſtill continued to make an immenſe conſumption. The articles which the colony delivers to the Old World, have paſſed through the hands of the Engliſh, who ſupplied it with cloaths, inſtruments for agriculture, and ſome Negroes.

Through the whole extent of the coaſts, there is no port but that of Brunſwick, which can receive the veſſels deſtined for thoſe tranſactions. Thoſe which draw no more than ſixteen feet water, anchor at that town, which is built almoſt at the mouth of the river of Cape Fear, towards the ſouthern extremity of the province. Wilmington, it's capital, ſituated higher up upon the ſame river, admits only much ſmaller veſſels.

* From 50,000 l. to 62,500 l.

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What diſtinguiſhes South Carolina.

South Carolina furniſhes to the trade of both hemiſpheres as North Carolina, but in leſs quantity. It's labours have been chiefly turned towards rice and indigo.

Rice is a plant very much reſembling wheat in ſhape and colour, and in the figure and diſpoſition of it's leaves. The panicle which terminates the ſtem is compoſed of ſmall flowers, diſtinct from each other, which have four unequal ſcales, ſix ſtamina, and one piſtil, ſurrounded with two ſtyles. This piſtil becomes a white ſeed, extremely farenaceous, covered with two interior ſcales; which are larger, yellowiſh, covered with light aſperities, and furniſhed with ſeveral ſalient coſtæ, the middle one of which terminates in an elongated extremity. This plant thrives only in low, damp, and marſhy lands, when they are even a little overflowed. The period of it's diſcovery is traced to the remoteſt antiquity.

Egypt, unfortunately for itſelf, firſt attended to it. The pernicious effect of this culture, rendered the country the moſt unhealthy in the know'n world; conſtantly ravaged by epidemical diſorders, and afflicted with cutaneous diſeaſes, which paſſed from that region to the others, where they have been perpetuated during whole centuries, and where they have only been put a a ſtop to, by the contrary cauſe to that which had occaſioned them; to wit, the drying up of the marſhes, and the reſtoring of ſalubrity to the air and to the waters. China, and the Eaſt Indies, muſt experience the ſame calamities, if art doth

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not oppoſe preſervatives to nature, whoſe benefits are ſometimes accompanied with evils; or if the heat of the torrid zone doth not quickly diſpel the damp, and malignant vapours which are exhaled from the rice grounds. It is a know'n fact, that in the rice grounds of the Milaneze, the cultivators are all livid and dropſical.

Opinions differ about the manner in which rice hath been naturalized in Carolina. But whether the province may have acquired it by a ſhip-wreck, or whether it may have been carried there with ſlaves, or whether it be ſent from England, it is certain that the ſoil ſeemed favourable for it. It multiplied, however, very ſlowly, becauſe the coloniſts, who were obliged to ſend their harveſts into the ports of the mother-country, by which they were ſent into Spain and Portugal, where they were conſumed, acquired ſo ſmall a profit from their productions, that it was ſcarcely ſufficient to defray the expences of cultivation. In 1730, a more enlightened adminiſtration permitted the direct exportation of this grain beyond Cape Finiſterre. Some year afterwards it was allowed to be carried to the Weſt Indies, and then the provinces being ſure of ſelling the good rice advantageouſly in Europe, and the inferior or ſpoilt rice in America, attended ſeriouſly to the cultivation of it. This production grows, by the care of the Negroes, in the moraſſes which are near the coaſts. At a great diſtance from the ocean, Indigo is cultivated by the ſame hands, but with leſs danger.

This plant, which originally comes from Indoſtan, ſucceeded at firſt at Mexico; afterwards at the Antilles, and laſtly in South Carolina. The firſt experiments made in this province, yielded only a produce of an exceedingly inferior quality: but this dye acquires daily a greater degree of perfection. It's cultivators do not even deſpair of ſupplanting, in time, the Spaniards and the French in all the markets. Their hopes are founded upon the extent of their ſoil, upon the abundance and the cheapneſs of ſubſiſtence, and eſpecially upon the cuſtom which they have of ploughing their grounds with animals, and of ſowing the indigo in them in the ſame manner as corn; while, on the contrary, in the Weſt Indies, they are the ſlaves who prepare the grounds, and who throw the ſeed into holes, diſpoſed at different diſtances to receive it.

If, contrary to all probability, this revolution in trade ſhould ever happen, South Carolina, which at preſent reckons two hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, half white people and half Negroes, and the exportations of which, including thoſe of North Carolina, amounted, in the year 1769, to 10,601,336 livres *, would ſoon double it's population and it's cultures. It is already the richeſt of all the provinces of the Northern continent. Accordingly, the taſte for the conveniencies of life is generally prevalent, and the expences are carried as far as luxury.

* 44,722 l. 6 s. 8 d.

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This magnificence was more particularly remarked ſome time ago in the funerals. As many citizens as it was poſſible to collect were aſſembled at them; expenſive diſhes were ſerved up, and the moſt exquiſite wines, and the ſcarceſt liquors were laviſhed. To the plate which the family had, was added that of the relations, the neighbours, and the friends. It was common to ſee fortunes either much incroached upon, or even deranged by theſe obſequies. The ſanguinary and ruinous conteſts between the mother-country and the colonies have put a ſtop to theſe profuſions; but without aboliſhing a cuſtom perhaps ſtill more extravagant.

From the origin of the ſettlement, the miniſters of religion adopted the cuſtom of pronouncing indiſcriminately, in the churches, an elogium upon every one of their flock after death. The praiſe was never in proportion to the actions and virtues of the deceaſed, but to the greater or leſs reward which they were to receive for the funeral oration. So that while, in our countries, the Catholic prieſts were making a traffic of prayer, the clergy of the church of England were carrying on, in the other hemiſphere, the more odious traffic of the praiſes of the dead.

Could there be a more effectual method of degrading virtue, of diminiſhing the horror of vice, and of corrupting in men's minds the true notions of each? Could there be any thing more ſcandalous to a whole Chriſtian audience, than the impudence of an orator, of a preacher of the goſpel extolling a citizen who had been abhorred for his

avarice, his cruelty, and his debauchery; a bad father, an ungrateful ſon, or married perſons who had led a life of diſſoluteneſs; and placing in heaven thoſe whom the Almighty Judge had precipitated into the depth of the infernal regions?

South Carolina hath only three cities worthy of being called ſo; and theſe are alſo ports.

George Town, ſituated at the mouth of the Black River, is ſtill very inconſiderable; but it's ſituation muſt render it one day more important.

Beaufort, or Port Royal, will never emerge from a ſtate of mediocrity, though it's road be capable of receiving and ſecuring the largeſt ſhips.

It is Charleſtown, the capital of the colony, which is at preſent the moſt important ſtaple, and which muſt neceſſarily become ſtill more ſo.

The channel which leads up to it is full of breakers, and embarraſſed with a ſand-bank: but with the aſſiſtance of a good pilot, a ſhip arrives ſafely in the harbour. It can receive three hundred ſail; and ſhips of three hundred and fifty or four hundred tons burthen can enter it at all times, with their entire cargo.

The town occupies a great ſpace, at the confluence of the two navigable rivers, Aſhley, and Cooper. It's ſtreets are very regular, and moſt of them large; it hath two thouſand convenient houſes, and a few public buildings, which would be reckoned handſome even in Europe. The double advantage which Charleſtown enjoys

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of being the ſtaple for the productions of the colony which are to be exported, and of all the foreign merchandiſe that can be conſumed there, keeps up a conſtant activity in it, and hath ſucceſſively been the cauſe of making ſome conſiderable fortunes.

THE two Carolinas are ſtill very far from attaining to that degree of ſplendour to which they have a right to aſpire. North Carolina doth not cultivate all the productions of which it's ſoil is ſuſceptible, and thoſe which it ſeems to attend a little to, are in a manner left to chance. The inhabitants of South Carolina are more intelligent, and more active: but they have not yet found out, at leaſt not ſufficiently, how far they might improve their fortune by the culture of the above tree, and of ſilk. Neither of theſe provinces have cleared one quarter of their territory which may be uſefully employed. This labour is reſerved for future generations, and for an increaſe of population. Then undoubtedly ſome kind of induſtry will be eſtabliſhed in provinces, where there would not exiſt the leaſt appearance of any, if the French refugees had not brought a linen manufactory to them.

By whom, upon what occaſion, and in what manner, Georgia was founded.

BETWEEN Carolina and Florida, there is a ſlip of land, which extends ſixty miles along the ſeaſide, which acquires, by degrees, a breadth of one hundred and fifty miles, and hath three hundred miles in depth, as far as the Apalachian mountains. This country is limited on the North by the Savannah river, and to the South by the river of Alatamaha.

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THE Engliſh miniſtry had been long deſirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was conſidered as dependent upon Carolina. One of thoſe inſtances of benevolence, which liberty, the ſource of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, ſerved to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his eſtate to ſet at liberty ſuch inſolvent debtors as were detained in priſon by their creditors. Where ſhall we find, either in France or in other parts, any perſon who ſhall thus propoſe to expiate a long abuſe of proſperity? Several will die, after having ſquandered away millions, without being able to recollect one good action they have done. Several will die, and will leave behind them, to heirs who are anxious for their death, treaſures acquired by uſury and concuſſion, without repairing, by ſome honourable and uſeful inſtitution, the crime of their opulence. Is it then one of the neceſſary effects of gold, to harden the heart to the laſt, and to ſtifle remorſe; ſince there is ſcarce any man who hath know'n how to make a good uſe of it during his life; ſcarce any man who has employed it in procuring tranquillity to himſelf in his laſt moments? Prudential reaſons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that ſuch unhappy priſoners as were releaſed, ſhould be tranſplanted into that deſert country, that was now intended to be peopled.

peopled. It was named Georgia in honour of the reigning ſovereign.

This inſtance of reſpect, the more pleaſing, as it was not the effect of flattery; and the execution of a deſign of ſo much real advantage to the ſtate, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 225,000 livres* to the eſtate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary ſubſcription produced a much more conſiderable ſum. General Oglethorpe, a man who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons by his taſte for great deſigns, by his zeal for his country, and his paſſion for glory, was fixed upon to direct theſe public finances, and to carry into execution ſo excellent a project. Deſirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he choſe to conduct himſelf the firſt coloniſts that were ſent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a ſpot ten miles diſtant from the ſea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. The river gave it's name to this feeble ſettlement, which might one day become the capital of a flouriſhing colony. It conſiſted at firſt of no more than one hundred perſons; but before the end of the year the number was increaſed to ſix hundred and eighteen; of whom one hundred and twenty-ſeven had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and one hundred and thirteen women, one hundred and two lads, and eighty-three girls, formed the begin-

* 9,375l.

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ning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous poſterity.

This ſettlement was increaſed in 1735 by the arrival of ſome Scotch highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an eſtabliſhment offered them upon the borders of the Alatamaha, to defend the colony, if neceſſary, againſt the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the town of Darien, five leagues diſtant from the iſland of St. Simon, where the hamlet of Frederica was already eſtabliſhed.

In the ſame year, a great number of Proteſtants, driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical prieſt, embarked for Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conſcience. Ebenezer, ſituated upon the river Savannah, ſixteen leagues from the ocean, owed it's riſe to theſe victims of an odious ſuperſtition.

Some Switzers followed the example of theſe wiſe Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been perſecuted. They alſo ſettled on the bank of the Savannah, but three leagues lower, and upon a ſpot which ſubjected them to the laws of Carolina. Their colony, conſiſting of a hundred habitations, was named Puryſburg, from Pury their founder, who having been at the expence of their ſettlement, was deſervedly choſen their chief, in teſtimony of their gratitude to him.

In theſe four or five colonies, ſome men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. Theſe, therefore, ſeparated from the reſt, in order to build the city of Auguſta, one hundred and forty-five miles diſtant from the ocean. The goodneſs

goodneſs of the ſoil was not the object they had in view; but they wiſhed to ſhare with Virginia and the Carolinas the peltries which theſe provinces obtained from the Creeks, the Chickaſaws, and the Cherokees, which were the moſt numerous ſavage nations of this continent. Their project was ſo ſucceſsful, that as early as the year 1739, ſix hundred people were employed in this commerce. The ſale of theſe furs was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumſtance of the Savannah admitting, during the greateſt part of the year, ſhips from twenty to thirty tons burthen as far as the walls of Auguſta.

The mother-country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony which had received, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, five thouſand inhabitants, which had coſt the treaſury 1,485,000 livres*, and the zealous patriots a great deal more. What muſt not therefore have been their aſtoniſhment, when in 1741 they were informed, that moſt of the unfortunate people who had ſought an aſylum in Georgia, had ſucceſſively withdraw'n themſelves from it; and that the few who remained there ſeemed only deſirous to fix in a leſs inſupportable ſpot. The reaſons of this ſingular event were inquired into and diſcovered.

Impediments that have prevented the progreſs of Georgia.

This colony, even in it's origin, brought with it the ſeeds of it's decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been

* 61,875 l.

ceded

ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent ſcheme; but nations, any more than individuals, do not learn inſtruction from their paſt miſconduct. Facts are generally unknow'n; and if they ſhould not be, ſtill bad conſequences are imputed to unable predeceſſors, or elſe ſome trifling difference in circumſtances, or in ſome frivolous precautions, afford a pretence for giving a falſe colouring to meaſures that are faulty in themſelves. Hence it happens, that an enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard againſt every miſuſe of it's confidence. The Engliſh miniſtry, therefore, ſacrificed the public intereſt to the rapacious views of intereſted individuals.

The firſt uſe which the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were inveſted with, was to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of legiſlation, that made them entirely maſters not only of the police, juſtice, and finances of the country, but even of the lives and eſtates of it's inhabitants. Every ſpecies of right was withdraw'n from the people, who are the original poſſeſſors of every right. Obedience was required of them, though contrary to their intereſt and knowlege; and it was conſidered as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniences had been found to ariſe in other colonies from large poſſeſſions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land at firſt, and never more than five hundred; which they were not permitted

ted to mortgage, or even to diſpoſe of by will to their female iſſue. This laſt regulation, of making only the male iſſue capable of inheritance, was ſoon aboliſhed; but there ſtill remained too many obſtacles to excite a ſpirit of emulation.

When a man is neither purſued by the laws, nor driven away to avoid ignominy, nor tormented by religious tyranny, by the perſecutions of his creditors, by ſhame or miſery, or by the want of every kind of reſource in his own country, he doth not renounce his relations, his friends, and his fellow-citizens; he doth not baniſh himſelf, he doth not croſs the ſeas, he doth not go in ſearch of a diſtant land, unleſs he be attracted there by hopes which are more powerful than the allurements of his native ſoil, than the value he ſets upon his exiſtence, and the dangers to which he expoſes himſelf. To go, on board of ſhip, in order to be landed on an unknow'n region, is the act of a deſperate man, unleſs the imagination be influenced by the proſpect of ſome great happineſs; a proſpect which the leaſt alarm will diſſipate. If the vague and unlimited confidence the emigrant hath in his induſtry, in which his whole fortune conſiſts, be ſhaken by any means whatever, he will remain upon the ſhore. Such muſt neceſſarily have been the effect of the boundaries aſſigned to every plantation. Several other errors ſtill affected the original plan of this country, and prevented it's increaſe.

The taxes impoſed upon the moſt fertile of the Engliſh colonies are very inconſiderable, and even theſe

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theſe are not levied, till the ſettlements have acquired ſome degree of vigour and proſperity. From it's infant ſtate, Georgia had been ſubjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been, as it were, fettered. The revenues raiſed by this kind of ſervice, muſt have increaſed beyond meaſure in proceſs of time. The founders of it, blinded by a ſpirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the ſmalleſt duty impoſed upon a populous and flouriſhing province, would much ſooner enrich them, than the heavieſt taxes laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this ſpecies of oppreſſion was added an arrangement which became a freſh cauſe of inactivity. The diſorders which were the conſequence of the uſe of ſpirituous liquors throughout all the continent of North America, occaſioned the importation of rum to be prohibited in Georgia. This prohibition, however laudable the motive for it might be, deprived the coloniſts of the only drink which could correct the bad effects of the water of the country, which they found every where unhealthy, and of the only means they had of repairing their ſtrength, exhauſted by continual perſpiration. It alſo ſecluded them from the trade of the Weſt Indies, where they were no more allowed to exchange for theſe liquors the wood, the ſeeds, and the cattle, which ought to have conſtituted their firſt riches.

Weak as theſe reſources were, they muſt have increaſed very ſlowly, on account of a prohibition which would deſerve recommendation, had it been dictated by a ſentiment of humanity, and

not by policy. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the uſe of ſlaves. Other colonies having been eſtabliſhed without their aſſiſtance, it was thought that a country, deſtined to be the bulwark of thoſe poſſeſſions, ought not to be peopled by a ſet of ſlaves, who could not be in the leaſt intereſted in the defence of their oppreſſors. But would this prohibition have taken place, had it been foreſeen that coloniſts, who were leſs favoured by the mother-country than their neighbours, who were ſituated in a country leſs ſuſceptible of culture, and in a hotter climate, would want ſtrength and ſpirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement?

The demands of the people, and the refuſals of the government, may be equally extravagant. The people liſten only to their wants, and ſovereigns conſult only their perſonal intereſt. The former, commonly very indifferent, eſpecially in diſtant countries, with reſpect to the powers to which they belong, and thoſe which they may receive by an invaſion, neglect their political ſecurity, in order to attend only to their perſonal welfare. The latter, on the contrary, will never heſitate between the felicity of the people, and the ſolidity of their poſſeſſions; and will always prefer a ſteady and permanent authority over a ſet of miſerable beings, to an uncertain and precarious ſway over men who are happy. Their miſtruſt, which a long ſeries of vexations hath too well juſtified, will induce them to conſider the people as ſlaves, ever ready to eſcape from them

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them by revolt or by flight; and it will not enter into the thoughts of any one of them, that this habitual ſentiment of hatred, which they ſuppoſe to exiſt againſt them becauſe they have deſerved it, and which is but too real, would be extinguiſhed, if they could experience a few years of a mild and paternal adminiſtration: for nothing is alienated with ſo much difficulty as the affection of the people. It is founded on the advantages rarely felt, but always acknowleged, of a ſupreme authority, whatever it may be, which directs, which is watchful, which protects, and which defends. For the ſame reaſon, nothing is more eaſily recovered, when alienated. The deluſive hope of a change for the better is alone ſufficient to quiet our imagination, and to prolong our miſeries without end. What I here advance is confirmed by the almoſt univerſal example of the whole world. At the death of a tyrant, all nations flatter themſelves with the hopes of a king. The tyrants continue their ſyſtem of oppreſſion, and die in peace; and the people ſtill continue to groan under it, and to expect with patience a king who never appears. The ſucceſſor, educated as his father or his grandfather, is prepared from his infancy to model himſelf after their example, unleſs he ſhould have received from nature a ſtrength of genius, a firmneſs of ſoul, a rectitude of judgment, and a fund of benevolence and equity, which may correct the defect of his education. Without this fortunate diſpoſition, he will not inquire, in any circumſtance, what is proper to be done, but what

what hath been done before him. He will not aſk what is moſt ſuitable to the good of his ſubjects, whom he will conſider as his neareſt enemies, on account of the parade of guards that ſurround him; but he will ſtudy what will increaſe his deſpotiſm, and their ſervitude. He will remain ignorant during life of the moſt ſimple and moſt evident of truths; which is, that their ſtrength and his are inſeparable from each other. The example of the paſt will be his only rule of conduct, both on thoſe occaſions when it may be prudent to follow it, and on thoſe when it would be proper to deviate from it. The meaſure which the miniſtry will adopt in politics, will always be that which ſhall be moſt analogous to the ſpirit of tyranny, the only one which has been decorated with the title of the great art of governing. When, therefore, the inhabitants of Georgia aſked for ſlaves, in order to know whether they ſhould have been granted or refuſed to them, it was only neceſſary to examine whether they were required for the better cultivation of the lands, and the greater ſecurity of the property of the colony.

In the mean while, the truly deſperate ſituation of the new ſettlement proclaimed too forcibly the imprudence of the miniſtry, to make it poſſible to perſevere in ſuch fatal meaſures. At length the province received the ſame form of government which made the other colonies proſper. When it ceaſed to be a fief belonging to individuals, it became a truly national poſſeſſion.

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Situation and expectations of Georgia.

SINCE this fortunate revolution, Georgia hath improved conſiderably, though not ſo rapidly as was expected. It is true, that neither the vine, the olive-tree, nor ſilk, have been cultivated, as the mother-country wiſhed; but it's marſhes have furniſhed a tolerable quantity of rice, and indigo, ſuperior in quality to that of Carolina, hath been produced upon the higher grounds. Before the 1ſt January 1768, a grant had been made of ſix hundred thirty-ſeven thouſand one hundred and ſeventy acres of land. Thoſe which, in 1763, were worth no more than 3 livres 7 ſols 6 deniers *, were ſold in 1776 for 67 livres 10 ſols †. In 1769, the exportations of the colony amounted to 1,625,418 livres 9 ſols 5 deniers ‡; and ſince that time they have conſiderably increaſed.

THIS proſperity will undoubtedly be augmented. In proportion as the foreſts ſhall be felled, the air will become more ſalubrious, and the productions will increaſe with the population, which at preſent doth not exceed thirty-thouſand men, moſt of whom are ſlaves. However, as the lands are not ſo extenſive in Georgia as in moſt of the other provinces, and that in the ſame proportion leſs of them are ſuſceptible of culture, the riches of that colony will always be limited. Let us ſee whether Florida hath a right to expect a more brilliant deſtiny.

Florida becomes a Spaniſh poſſeſſion.

UNDER this name the ambition of Spain comprehended formerly all that tract of land in Ame-

* 2 s. 9¾ d. † 2 l. 16 s. 3 d.
‡ About 67,725 l. 15 s. 4¾ d.

rica,

rica, which extended from the Gulph of Mexico to the moſt Northern regions. But fortune, which ſports with the vanity of nations, hath long ſince confined this unlimited denomination to the peninſula formed by the ſea, between Georgia and Louiſiana.

It was Luke Velaſquès, whoſe memory ought to be holden in execration in this world, as he deſerves to be puniſhed in the next; it was that monſter, to whom I can ſcarce give the name of man, who firſt landed upon this region, with the intention of obtaining ſlaves, either by ſtratagem or by force. The novelty of the ſpectacle attracted the neighbouring ſavages. They were invited to come on board the ſhips; they were intoxicated, put in irons, and the anchor was weighed, while the guns were fired upon the reſt of the Indians, who remained upon the ſhore. Several of theſe unfortunate people, ſo cruelly tor'n from their own country, refuſed to take the food which was offered them, and periſhed from inanition. Others died of grief; and thoſe who ſurvived their deſpair, were buried in the mines of Mexico.

These inſatiable gulphs required more victims. The perfidious Velaſquès went in ſearch of them again in the ſame country. He was know'n, and half of his infamous companions were murdered on their arrival. Thoſe who fled from a juſtly implacable enemy, were ſhipwrecked; he himſelf only eſcaped the fury of the waves, to lead the remainder of his deteſted life in ſhame, miſery, and remorſe.

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SPAIN had forgotten that part of the New World, when the memory of it was revived by a ſettlement made there by the French. The court of Madrid thought proper to drive from their rich poſſeſſions ſo active a nation; and they accordingly gave orders for the deſtruction of the infant colony. This command was put in execution in 1565; and the conquerors re-occupied the place, which was rendered an abſolute deſert by their cruelties. They were threatened with a lingering death, when they were relieved by the culture of ſaſſafras.

THIS tree, which is an evergreen, is peculiar to America, and is better at Florida than in any other part of that hemiſphere. It grows equally on the borders of the ſea and upon the mountains, but always in a ſoil which is neither too dry nor too damp. It's roots are even with the ſurface of the ground. It's trunk, which is very ſtraight, without leaves, and not high, is covered with a thick and dirty bark, of an aſh colour, and throws out at it's ſummit ſome branches which ſpread out on the coaſts. The leaves are diſpoſed alternately, green on the upper, and white on the under ſurface, and are divided into three lobes. Sometimes they are found entire, eſpecially in young plants. The branches are terminated by cluſters of ſmall yellow flowers. They are of the ſame kind as thoſe of the laurel or cinnamon tree. The fruits, which ſucceed, are ſmall, blue, pendent berries, fixed to a red pedicle, and to a calix of the ſame colour.

IT'S

It's flower is taken in infuſion, as mullein and tea is. The decoction of it's root is uſed with effect in intermittent fevers. The bark of the trunk hath an acrid and aromatic taſte, and a ſmell ſimilar to that of fennel and aniſeed. The wood is whitiſh and leſs odoriferous. They are both uſed in medicine to promote perſpiration, to attenuate thick and viſcid humours, to remove obſtructions, to cure the gout and the palſy. Saſſafras was alſo formerly much preſcribed in the venereal diſeaſe.

The firſt Spaniards who ſettled there would probably have fallen a ſacrifice to this laſt diſorder, at leaſt they would not have recovered from thoſe dangerous fevers with which moſt of them were attacked on their arrival in Florida, either in conſequence of the food of the country, or of the badneſs of the waters. But the ſavages taught them, that by drinking faſting, and at their meals, water in which the root of ſaſſafras had been boiled they might depend upon a ſpeedy recovery. The experiment upon trial proved ſucceſsful.

What can be the reaſon that this medicine, and ſo many others which produce extraordinary cures in thoſe diſtant countries, ſeem to have loſt almoſt all their efficacy when tranſplanted into our's? It muſt probably be owen to the climate being more favourable for perſpiration, to the nature of the plant which degenerates and loſes ſome part of it's ſtrength during a long voyage, and eſpecially to the nature of the diſeaſe, when joined to our intemperate way of living;

and the obſtinacy of which increaſes from the numberleſs diſorders prevailing in our conſtitutions.

THE Spaniards eſtabliſhed ſome ſmall poſts at San Matheo, at Saint Marc, and at Saint Joſeph; but it was only at Saint Auguſtine, and at Penſacola that they properly formed ſettlements; the former on their arrival in the country, and the latter in 1696.

PENSACOLA was attacked and taken by the French during the ſhort conteſts which divided the two houſes of Bourbon in 1718; but it was ſoon reſtored.

IN 1740, the Engliſh beſieged the former of theſe ſettlements in vain. The Scotch Highlanders, in endeavouring to cover the retreat of the aſſailants, were beaten and ſlain. One of their ſerjeants only was ſpared by the ſavage Indians, who, while they were fighting for the Spaniards, reſerved him to undergo thoſe torments which they inflict upon their priſoners. This man, it is ſaid, on ſeeing the horrid tortures that awaited him, addreſſed the blood-thirſty multitude in the following manner;

"HEROES and patriarchs of the weſtern world, "you were not the enemies that I fought for; but "you have at laſt been the conquerors. The "chance of war has throw'n me in your power. "Make what uſe you think proper of the right "of conqueſt. This is a right I do not call in "queſtion. But as it is cuſtomary in my coun-"try to offer a ranſom for one's life, liſten to a "propoſal not unworthy of your notice.

"KNOW

"KNOW then, valiant Americans, that in the "country of which I am a native, there are ſome "men who poſſeſs a ſuperior knowlege of the "ſecrets of nature. One of thoſe ſages, connected "to me by the ties of kindred, imparted to me, "when I became a ſoldier, a charm to make me "invulnerable. You muſt have obſerved how I "have eſcaped all your darts. Without ſuch a "charm would it have been poſſible for me to "have ſurvived all the mortal blows you have "aimed at me? For I appeal to your own valour, "to teſtify that mine has ſufficiently exerted it-"ſelf, and has not avoided any danger. Life is "not ſo much the object of my requeſt, as the "glory of communicating to you a ſecret of ſo "much conſequence to your ſafety, and of ren-"dering the moſt valiant nation upon the earth "invincible. Suffer me only to have one of my "hands at liberty, in order to perform the cere-"monies of inchantment, of which I will now "make trial on myſelf before you."

THE Indians liſtened with eagerneſs to this diſcourſe, which was flattering both to their warlike character, and their turn for the marvellous. After a ſhort conſultation, they untied one of the priſoner's arms. The highlander begged that they would put his broad ſword into the hands of the moſt expert and ſtouteſt man among them; and at the ſame time laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and muttering ſome words accompanied with magic ſigns, he cried aloud with a cheerful countenance, "Obſerve now, O valiant Indians, "an inconteſtible proof of my honeſty. Thou

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" warrior, who now holdeſt my keen cutting " weapon, do thou now ſtrike with all thy " ſtrength: far from being able to ſever my head " from my body, thou wilt not even wound the " ſkin of my neck."

He had ſcarcely ſpoken theſe words, when the Indian aiming the moſt violent blow, ſtruck off the head of the ſerjeant, to the diſtance of twenty feet. The ſavages aſtoniſhed, ſtood motionleſs, viewing the bloody corpſe of the ſtranger; and then turned their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But admiring the artifice the priſoner had made uſe of to avoid the torture by haſtening his death, they beſtowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this fact, the date of which is too recent to admit of credit, has not all the marks of authenticity it ſhould have, it will only be one falſehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

Florida is ceded to Great Britain by the court of Madrid.

The treaty of peace of 1763, put in the power of Great Britain, that ſame Florida which had reſiſted the ſtrength of their arms twenty-three years before. At that time there were no more than ſix hundred inhabitants. It was with the ſale of their hides, and with the proviſions they furniſhed to their garriſon, that they were to provide themſelves with cloaths, and to ſupply a ſmall part of their wants, which were exceedingly confined. Theſe miſerable people went all to Cuba, though convinced that they would be obliged to beg their bread, if their monarch, moved

with ſuch an inſtance of affection, did not provide for their ſubſiſtence.

What motive could induce the Spaniards to prefer an oppreſſive to a free government? Was it ſuperſtition, which cannot ſuffer the altars of the heretics near it's own? Was it prejudice, which renders ſuſpicious the morals and the probity of thoſe who profeſs a different religion? Was it the fear of ſeduction for themſelves, and ſtill more for their children? Long accuſtomed to idleneſs, did they imagine that they ſhould be compelled to labour? Or hath man ſo bad an opinion of man, that he ſhould rather chooſe to diſpoſe of himſelf and his fate, than to abandon it to the mercy of his fellow-creature? However it may be, nothing but a deſert remained to the power that obtained the poſſeſſion; but was it not an acquiſition to loſe inhabitants not inured to fatigue, and who would never have been well affected?

Great Britain congratulated itſelf upon the acquiſition of the property of an immenſe province, the limits of which were ſtill extended as far as the Miſſiſſippi, by the ceſſion of one part of Louiſiana. That power had for a long time been deſirous of ſettling on a territory which would open an eaſy communication to them with the richeſt of the Spaniſh colonies. They did not give up the hopes of a ſmuggling trade, but they were aware that this precarious and momentary advantage was not ſufficient to render their conqueſts flouriſhing, and they turned their labours and expectations principally towards cultivation.

The

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What hath been done by England, and what ſhe may expect to do in Florida.

THE new acquiſition was divided into two governments. It was thought that this would be a powerful inducement to carry on with greater zeal, and to direct with more vigour the cultivation of the lands. Miniſtry might alſo have determined upon this diviſion, in expectation of always finding more ſubmiſſion in two ſeparate provinces than in one alone.

SAINT AUGUSTINE became the capital of Eaſt Florida, and Penſacola of Weſt Florida. Theſe capitals, which were at the ſame time tolerable good harbours, did not undoubtedly unite all the conveniencies they were ſuſceptible of, but it was ſtill a very fortunate circumſtance to find thoſe which they really did poſſeſs. The other colonies did not enjoy this advantage at their origin.

THE firſt coloniſts who ſettled in theſe countries were half-pay officers and diſbanded ſoldiers. All thoſe among them who had ſerved in America and were ſettled there, obtained the grant of a piece of land proportionable to their rank. This favour was not extended to all the army that had fought in the New World. It would have been apprehended, that the military men of the three kingdoms who were in the ſame ſituation, might be tempted to forſake the mother-country, already too much exhauſted by the laſt hoſtilities.

THE new colony received alſo cultivators from the neighbouring ſettlements, from the mother-country, and from ſeveral Proteſtant ſtates. It

alſo obtained ſome, whoſe arrival was a matter of aſtoniſhment to both hemiſpheres.

THE Greeks groan under the Ottoman tyranny and muſt be inclined to ſhake off this deteſted yoke. This was the opinion of Dr. Turnbull, when in 1767, he went to offer an aſylum in Britiſh America to the inhabitants of the Peloponneſus. Several of them yielded to his ſolicitations, and for the ſum of one hundred guineas he obtained leave from the government of the place to embark them at Modon. He landed in Corſica and at Minorca, and prevailed alſo upon ſome of the inhabitants of thoſe two iſlands to follow him.

THE emigrants, to the number of a thouſand, arrived in Eaſt Florida with their prudent conductor, where ſixty thouſand acres of land were granted to them. This would have been an immenſe poſſeſſion, even if the climate had not deſtroyed any of them; but they had unfortunately been ſo much thwarted by the winds as to prevent their landing before ſummer, which is a dangerous ſeaſon, and which deſtroyed one quarter of their number. They were moſtly the old people who periſhed. They were numerous, becauſe the judicious Turnbull choſe to carry none with him but whole families.

THOSE who eſcaped this firſt diſaſter have ſince enjoyed perfect health, which has only been affected by a few fevers. The men are become ſtronger in their conſtitutions, and the women, who, on account of the change of climate, did not breed often at firſt, are at preſent very fruitful.

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ful. It is preſumed, that the children will be taller than they would have been in the country from whence their parents came.

THE ſmall colony have received from their founder, inſtitutions, which they have themſelves approved, and which are obſerved. They are ſtill no more than one entire family, where the ſpirit of concord muſt be kept up for a long time. On the firſt of January 1776, they had already cleared two thouſand three hundred acres of a tolerably fertile ſoil. They had animals ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence and for their labour. Their crops were ſufficient for their own conſumption, and they ſold for 67,500 livres * worth of indigo. The induſtry and activity by which they are diſtinguiſhed, give great expectations from time and experience.

WHY ſhould not Athens and Lacedæmon be one day revived in North America? Why ſhould not the city of Turnbull become in a few centuries the reſidence of politeneſs, of the fine arts, and of eloquence? The new colony is leſs diſtant from this flouriſhing ſtate than were the barbarous Pelaſgians from the fellow citizens of Pericles. What difference there is between a ſettlement conceived and founded by a wiſe and pacific man, and the conqueſts of a long ſeries of avaricious, extravagant, and ſanguinary men; between the preſent ſtate of South America and what it might have been, had thoſe who diſcovered it, took poſſeſſion of it and laid it waſte, been animated with

* 2,812l. 10s.

the

the ſame ſpirit as the worthy Turnbull? Will not nations learn by his example, that the foundation of a colony requires more wiſdom than expence? The univerſe hath been peopled by one man and one woman only.

The two Floridas, which in 1769, did not export productions to the amount of more than 673,209 livres 18 ſols 9 deniers *, have a remarkable advantage over the reſt of this great continent. Situated in a great meaſure between two ſeas, they have nothing to fear from the frozen winds nor from the unforeſeen variations in the temperature of the air, which at all ſeaſons occaſion ſuch frequent and fatal devaſtations in the neighbourhood. It is therefore to be hoped that the vine, the olive, the cotton tree, and other delicate plants will proſper there ſooner and better than in any of the adjacent provinces. In 1774, the ſociety inſtituted in London for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and ſciences, gave a gold medal to Mr. Strachey, for his having produced as fine indigo as that which comes from Guatimala. Although, in the firſt paroxyſms of enthuſiaſm, the qualities of this production have been but moderately attended to, yet it will become a ſource of riches for the colony.

The ſoil of Eaſt Florida, however, being a great deal too ſandy, conſtantly drove away all men who were deſirous of making a rapid fortune. It would ſcarce have been peopled, except

* About 28,045 l. 8 s. 3 ½ d.

by

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by ſome extraordinary event. The troubles with which North America hath been agitated, have driven to that commonly barren ſoil a few peaceful citizens, who had a ſettled averſion for diſputes, and a ſtill greater number of men, who, either from ambition, habit, or prejudice, were devoted to the intereſt of the mother-country.

The ſame inducements have given coloniſts to the other Florida, which is much more fertile, eſpecially on the pleaſant borders of the Miſſiſſippi. This province hath had the advantage to furniſh Jamaica, and ſeveral of the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies with wood, and with various articles which they formerly received from the ſeveral countries of New England. This population would have been ſtill more rapid if the coaſts of Penſacola had been more acceſſible, and if it's harbours had been leſs infeſted with worms. How greatly might the improvements of the two provinces be accelerated, if the new ſovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly purſued, and would condeſcend to intermarriages with Indian families! And for what reaſon ſhould this method of civilizing the ſavage tribes, which has been ſo ſucceſsfully employed by the moſt enlightened politicians, be rejected by a free people, who, from their principles, muſt admit a greater equality than other nations? Would the Engliſh then be ſtill reduced to the cruel alternative of ſeeing their crops burnt, and their huſbandmen maſſacred, or of perſecuting without intermiſſion, and exterminating without pity, thoſe wandering bands of natives?

Ought

Ought they not to prefer to ſanguinary and inglorious hoſtilities, a humane and infallible method of diſarming the only enemy that remains to diſturb their tranquillity?

The Engliſh flatter themſelves, that without the aſſiſtance of theſe alliances they ſhall ſoon be freed from the little interruption that remains. It is the fate of ſavage nations, ſay they, to waſte away in proportion as the people of civilized ſtates come to ſettle among them. Unable to ſubmit to the labour of cultivation, and failing of their uſual ſubſiſtence from the chace, they are reduced to the neceſſity of abandoning all thoſe tracts of lands which induſtry and activity have undertaken to clear. This is actually the caſe with all the natives bordering on the European ſettlements. They keep daily retiring further into the woods; they fall back upon the Aſſenipouals and Hudſon's bay, where they muſt neceſſarily incroach upon each other, and in a ſhort time muſt periſh for want of ſubſiſtence.

But before this total deſtruction is brought about, events of a very ſerious nature may occur. We have not yet forgotten the generous Pondiack. That formidable warriour had broken with the Engliſh in 1762. Major Roberts, who was employed to reconcile him, ſent him a preſent of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were ſtanding round their chief, ſhuddered at the ſight of this liquor. Not doubting but that it was poiſoned, they inſiſted that he ſhould not accept ſo ſuſpicious a preſent. *How can it be*, ſaid their leader, *that a man, who knows my eſteem for him, and the ſignal ſervices I have*

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have done him, ſhould entertain a thought of taking away my life? Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the moſt renowned hero of antiquity.

By many inſtances of magnanimity ſimilar to this, the eyes of the ſavage nations had all been fixed upon Pondiack. His deſign was to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independence. Several unfortunate circumſtances concurred to defeat this grand project; but it may be reſumed, and it is not impoſſible that it may ſucceed. The uſurpers would then be under a neceſſity of protecting their frontier againſt an enemy, that hath none of thoſe expences to ſuſtain, or evils to dread, which war brings with it among civilized nations; and will find the advantages they have promiſed themſelves from conqueſts made at the expence of ſo much treaſure and ſo much blood, conſiderably retarded, at leaſt, if not entirely loſt. Should the Engliſh diſdain an advice dictated to them through me by juſtice and humanity, may another Pondiack ariſe from his aſhes and conſummate his plan.

Extent of the Britiſh dominions in North America.

The two Floridas, part of Louiſiana, and all Canada, obtained at the ſame æra, either by conqueſt or treaty, rendered the Engliſh maſters of all that ſpace, which extends from the river St. Lawrence to the Miſſiſſippi; ſo that without reckoning Hudſon's Bay, Newfoundland, and the other iſlands of North America, they would have been in poſſeſſion of the moſt extenſive empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe.

This

This vaſt territory is divided from north to ſouth by a chain of high mountains, which alternately receding from and approaching to the coaſt, leave between them and the ocean a tract of land of a hundred and fifty, two hundred, and ſometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond theſe Apalachian mountains is an immenſe deſert, into which ſome travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues, without finding an end to it. It is ſuppoſed that the rivers at the extremity of theſe uncultivated regions have a communication with the South-ſea. If this conjecture, which is not deſtitute of probability, ſhould be confirmed by experience, England would unite in her colonies all the branches of communication and commerce of the world. As her territories extend from one American ſea to the other, ſhe may be ſaid to join the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports, from all her African ſettlements, ſhe freights and ſends out ſhips to the New World. From her maritime ſettlements in the eaſt ſhe would have a direct channel to the Weſt Indies by the Pacific Ocean. She would diſcover thoſe ſlips of land, or branches of the ſea, the iſthmus of the ſtreight, which lies between the northern extremities of Aſia and America. By the vaſt extent of her colonies ſhe would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would ſecure all the advantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps, by having the empire of all the ſeas, ſhe might aſpire to the ſupremacy of both worlds. But it is

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not in the deſtiny of any ſingle nation to attain to ſuch a pitch of greatneſs. Is then extent of dominion ſo flattering an object, when conqueſts are made only to be loſt again? Let the Romans ſpeak! Does it conſtitute power, to poſſeſs ſuch a ſhare of the globe, that ſome part ſhall always be enlightened by the rays of the ſun, if while we reign in one world we are to languiſh in obſcurity in the other? Let the Spaniards anſwer!

The Engliſh will be happy if they can preſerve, by the means of culture and navigation, an empire, which muſt ever be found too extenſive, when it cannot be maintained without bloodſhed. But as this is the price, which ambition muſt always pay for the ſucceſs of it's enterprizes, it is by commerce alone that conqueſts can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improveable by human induſtry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general be ſo low near the ſea, that in many parts it is ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable from the top of the mainmaſt, even after anchoring in fourteen fathom, yet the coaſt is very eaſy of acceſs, becauſe the depth diminiſhes inſenſibly as you advance. From this circumſtance it is eaſy to determine exactly by the line the diſtance of the main land. Beſide this, the mariner has another ſign, which is the appearance of trees, that, ſeeming to riſe out of the ſea, form an enchanting object to his view upon a ſhore, which preſents roads and harbours without number,

number, for the reception and preſervation of ſhipping.

The productions of the earth ariſe in great abundance from a ſoil newly cleared; but on the other hand, they are a long time before they come to maturity. Many plants are even ſo late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while, on our continent, both the fruit and the ſeed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude. What can be the cauſe of this phænomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fiſhery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the ſhade of theſe foreſts grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rotted this ſpecies of manure, the ſummer came on; and nature, left entirely to herſelf, continued heaping inceſſantly upon each other theſe effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long courſe of time, became accuſtomed to a long vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to ſubdue the habit fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the diſpoſitions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate, ſo long unknow'n or neglected by mankind, preſents them with advantages, which ſupply the defects and ill conſequences of that omiſſion.

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Trees peculiar to North America.

It produces almoſt all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has alſo others peculiar to itſelf, among which are the ſugar maple, and the candleburry myrtle.

The latter, thus named on account of it's produce, is a branching, tortuous ſhrub, rather irregular, and which delights in a moiſt ſoil. It is therefore ſeldom found at any diſtance from the ſea, or from large rivers. It's leaves, alternately diſpoſed, are narrow, entire, or denticulated, and always covered with ſmall gilded points, which are almoſt imperceptible. It bears male and female flowers, upon two different plants. The firſt form a bezil, every ſcale of which bears ſix ſtamina. The ſecond, diſpoſed alike on young ſprigs, have, inſtead of ſtamina, an ovary, ſurmounted with ſtyles, which becomes a very ſmall, hard, and ſpherical ſhell, which is covered with a granulated, white, and unctuous ſubſtance. Theſe fruits, which, together, appear like a bunch of grapes, are gathered at the end of the autumn, and throw'n into boiling water. The ſubſtance with which they are covered, detaches itſelf, ſwims at the top, and is ſkimmed off. As ſoon as this is grow'n cold, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a ſecond time, when it becomes tranſparent, and acquires an agreeable green colour.

This ſubſtance, which in quality and conſiſtence is a medium between tallow and wax, ſupplied the place of both to the firſt Europeans who landed in this country. The dearneſs of it has occaſioned

occaſioned it to be leſs uſed, in proportion as the number of domeſtic animals hath increaſed. Nevertheleſs, as it burns ſlower than tallow, is leſs ſubject to melt, and has not that diſagreeable ſmell, it is ſtill preferred, wherever it can be procured at a moderate price. If it be mixed with a fourth part of tallow, it burns much better, but this is not it's only property. It ſerves to make excellent ſoap and plaiſters for wounds: it is even employed for the purpoſe of ſealing letters. The ſugar maple merits no leſs attention than the candleburry myrtle, as may be conceived from it's name.

This tree, the nature of which is to flouriſh by the ſide of ſtreams, or in marſhy places, grows to the height of the oak. It's trunk is ſtreight and cylindrical, and covered with a tolerably thin bark. It's branches, which are always oppoſite, are covered with leaves diſpoſed in the ſame manner, which are whitiſh underneath, and are divided into five acute lobes. It's flowers, collected in cluſters, have a calix, with five diviſions, charged with as many petals, and eight ſtamina, which are ſometimes abortive. In the center of them is a piſtil, which becomes a fruit, compoſed of two pods, preſſed together, and cloſed at the bottom, open and alated at the top, and filled with a ſingle ſeed.

In the month of March, an inciſion, of the depth of three or four inches, is made at the lower part of the trunk of the maple. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice that flows from it, is conveyed into a veſſel placed to

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receive it. The young trees are ſo full of this liquor, that in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford leſs, but of much better quality. No more than one inciſion, or two at moſt, can be made without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes be applied, it ſoon dies.

THE ſap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to ſugar, it is evaporated by fire, till it has acquired the conſiſtence of a thick ſyrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware, or bark of the birch-tree. The ſyrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of ſugar, almoſt tranſparent, and pleaſant enough to the taſte. To give it a whiteneſs, flour is ſometimes mixed up with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of ſugar is uſed for the ſame purpoſes, as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of ſugar, ſo that it can be of no great uſe in trade. Honey is the ſugar of the ſavages of our countries; the maple is the ſugar of the ſavages of America. Nature diſplays, in all parts, its ſweets, and it's wonders.

Birds peculiar to North America.

AMIDST the multitude of birds which inhabit the foreſts of North America, there is one extremely ſingular in it's kind; this is the humming bird, a ſpecies of which, on account of it's ſmallneſs, is called *l'oiſeau mouche*, or the fly bird. It's beak is long and pointed like a needle; and it's claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon it's head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty.

beauty. It's breaſt is of a roſe colour, and it's belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail are grey, bordered with ſilver, and ſtreaked with the brighteſt gold. The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it ſo delicate a caſt, that it reſembles a velvet flower, the beauty of which fades on the ſlighteſt touch.

THE ſpring is the only ſeaſon for this charming bird. It's neſt, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outſide with a grey and greeniſh moſs, and on the inſide lined with a very ſoft down gathered from yellow flowers. This neſt is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it, about the ſize of the ſmalleſt peas. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones; but they have never lived more than three weeks or a month at moſt.

THE humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itſelf in the calix of the largeſt flowers. It's flight produces a buzzing noiſe like that of a ſpinning-wheel. When tired, it lights upon the neareſt tree or ſtake; reſts a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithſtanding it's weakneſs, it does not appear timid; but will ſuffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

WHO would imagine, that ſo diminutive an animal could be malicious, paſſionate, and quarrelſome? Theſe birds are often ſeen fighting together with great fury and obſtinacy. The ſtrokes they give with their beak are ſo ſudden and ſo

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quick, that they are not diſtinguiſhable by the eye. Their wings move with ſuch agility, that they ſeem not to have any kind of motion. They are more hear'd than ſeen; and their noiſe reſembles that of a ſparrow.

These little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves aſunder. The precipitation with which they peck it, betrays, as it is ſaid, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the ſummer, thouſands of flowers may be ſeen ſtript of all their leaves by the fury of the humming birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of reſentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unneceſſarily deſtructive inſtinct.

Every ſpecies of beings hath another that is an enemy to it. That of the fly-bird is a large ſpider, which is very greedy of it's eggs. This is the ſword which is continually ſuſpended over the tyrant's head.

North America was formerly devoured by inſects. As the air was not then purified, the ground cleared, the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, theſe little animals deſtroyed, without oppoſition, all the productions of nature. None of them were uſeful to mankind. There is only one at preſent, which is the bee; but this is ſuppoſed to have been carried from the Old to the New World. The ſavages call it the Engliſh fly; and it is only found near the coaſts. Theſe circumſtances announce it to be of foreign original. The bees fly in numerous ſwarms through the

the foreſts of the New World. Their numbers are continually increaſing, and their honey, which is converted to ſeveral uſes, ſupplies many perſons with food. Their wax becomes daily a conſiderable branch of trade.

Europe ſupplies North America with domeſtic animals.

THE bee is not the only preſent which Europe has had it in her power to make to America. She has enriched her alſo with a breed of domeſtic animals, for the ſavages had none. America had not yet aſſociated beaſts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither oxen, ſheep, and horſes. They were all, at firſt, expoſed, as well as man, to epidemical diſeaſes. If the contagion did not attack them, as it did their proud ſovereign, in the ſource even of their generation, ſeveral of their ſpecies were at leaſt re-produced with much difficulty. All of them, except the hog, loſt much of their ſtrength and ſize. It was not till late, and that only in ſome places, that they recovered their original properties. Without doubt, it was the climate, the nature of the air, and the ſoil, which prevented the ſucceſs of their tranſplantation. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every animal and vegetable ſpecies to grow and flouriſh in it's native ſoil. The love of their country ſeems an ordinance of nature preſcribed to all beings, as the deſire of preſerving their exiſtence.

European grain hath been cultivated in North America.

YET there are certain correſpondences of climate, which form exceptions to the general rule againſt the tranſplanting of animals and plants. When the

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the Engliſh firſt landed on the North-American continent, the wandering inhabitants of thoſe deſolate regions had ſcarcely arrived at the cultivation of a ſmall quantity of maize, a plant which reſembles a reed. It's leaves, which are large, and very long, ſurround, at their baſis, the ſtem, which is round and knotty at intervals. It is terminated by a panicle of male flowers. Each of the bunches which compoſe it, hath two flowers, covered with two common ſcales; and each flower hath three ſtamina, incloſed between two ſcales proper to them. At the axilla of the inferior leaves, the female flowers are found, diſpoſed in a very cloſe cluſter, upon a thick and fleſhy axis, concealed under ſeveral coverings. The piſtil of theſe flowers, ſurrounded with ſome ſmall ſcales, and ſurmounted with a long ſtyle, becomes a farinaceous ſeed, almoſt ſpherical, and half ſunk into the common axis. It's maturity is know'n by it's colour, and by the ſeparation of the covering, through which the blade of corn may be ſeen.

THIS ſpecies of corn, unknow'n at that time in Europe, was the only one know'n in the New World. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The ſavages contented themſelves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground, with a ſtick, and throwing into each of them a ſingle grain, which produced two hundred and fifty or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden or ſtone mortar, and

and made it into a paſte, which they baked under embers. They often ate it toaſted merely upon the coals.

THE maize has many advantages. It's leaves are uſeful in feeding cattle; a circumſtance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, ſandy ſoil, agrees beſt with this plant. The ſeed may be frozen in the ſpring two or three times without impairing the harveſt. In ſhort, it is of all plants the one that is leaſt injured by the exceſs of drought or moiſture.

THESE cauſes, which introduced the cultivation of it in that part of the world, induced the Engliſh to preſerve and even promote it in their ſettlements. They ſold it to the ſouthern part of Europe, and to the Eaſt Indies, and employed it for their own uſe. They did not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains, all of which ſucceeded, though not ſo perfectly as in their native ſoil. With the ſuperfluity of their harveſts, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of their foreſts, the coloniſts formed a trade with all the wealthieſt and moſt populous provinces of the New World.

THE mother-country, finding that her northern colonies had ſupplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would ſoon become her rivals, even in Europe, at all the markets for ſalt proviſions and corn, endeavoured to divert their induſtry to objects that might be more uſeful to her. An opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf.

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North America hath ſupplied Europe with naval ſtores.

THE greateſt part of the pitch and tar the Engliſh wanted for their fleet, uſed to be furniſhed by Sweden. In 1703, that ſtate was ſo blind to it's true intereſt, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the reſtrictions of an excluſive charter. The firſt effect of this monopoly was a ſudden and conſiderable increaſe of price. England taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged by conſiderable premiums the importation of all ſorts of naval ſtores which North-America could furniſh.

THESE rewards did not immediately produce the effect that was expected from them. A bloody war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world, prevented both the mother-country and the colonies from giving to this beginning revolution in commerce, the attention which it merited. The northern nations, which had all the ſame motives of intereſt, taking this inaction, which was only occaſioned by the hurry of a war, for an abſolute proof of inability, thought they might without danger lay every reſtrictive clauſe upon the exportation of marine ſtores, that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this purpoſe they entered into mutual engagements which were made public in 1718, a time, when all the maritime powers ſtill felt the effects of a war, that had continued fourteen years.

ENGLAND was alarmed at ſo odious a convention. She diſpatched to America men of ſufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how neceſſary it was for them to aſſiſt the views of the mother-country; and of ſufficient experience to direct their

their firſt attempts towards great objects, without making them paſs through thoſe minute details, which quickly extinguiſh an ardour excited with difficulty. In a very ſhort time, ſuch quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards, and maſts, were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that ſhe was enabled to ſupply the nations around her.

This ſudden ſucceſs blinded the Britiſh government. The cheapneſs of the naval ſtores furniſhed by the colonies, in compariſon of thoſe which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage, which ſeemed to inſure a conſtant preference, Upon this the miniſtry concluded that the bounties might be withdraw'n. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total ſtop enſued in this branch of trade, and made them ſenſible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which, though they were not laid ſo high as formerly, were ſufficient to give to the vent of American ſtores the greateſt ſuperiority, at leaſt in England, over thoſe of the northern nations.

The woods, though they conſtituted one of the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto been overlooked by the governors of the mother-country. The produce of them had long been exported by the Engliſh to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uſes. As theſe traders did not take in return merchandiſe ſufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice

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practice with the Hamburghers, and even the Dutch to import on their bottoms the produce of the moſt fertile climates of Europe. This double trade of export, and carrying the merchandiſe of other nations, had conſiderably augmented the Britiſh navigation. The parliament, being informed of this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all thoſe duties of importation, to which Ruſſian, Swediſh, and Daniſh timber are ſubject. This firſt favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the ſame time that it comprehended every ſpecies of wood in general, was principally calculated for thoſe which are employed in ſhip-building. Unfortunately, the materials of the New World were found to be very inferior in quality to thoſe of the Old; they were, however, employed preferably to the latter by the Engliſh navy. England drew it's yards and it's maſts from North America, and was likewiſe deſirous of getting ſails and rigging from thence.

The French Proteſtants, who, when driven from their country by a prince, become infected with a ſpirit of bigotry, carried their national induſtry into all the countries of his enemies, and taught England the value of flax and hemp, two commodities of the utmoſt importance to a maritime power. Both theſe plants were cultivated with ſucceſs in Scotland and Ireland; but the manufactures of the nation were chiefly ſupplied with them from Ruſſia. To put a ſtop to this foreign importation, it was propoſed to grant a

bounty to North America of 135 livres * for every ton of theſe articles. This was doing a great deal; and yet ſo conſiderable an encouragement had no great ſucceſs. There were not many lands in that part of the New World which were good enough for a production which proſpers only upon an excellent ſoil. This region abounds more in iron, that metal which is deſtined to conquer the gold and ſilver of the ſouth.

The iron of North America hath been conveyed into our climates.

THIS moſt ſerviceable of metals, ſo neceſſary to mankind, was unknow'n to the Americans, till the Europeans taught them the moſt fatal uſe of it, that of making weapons. The Engliſh themſelves long neglected the iron mines, which nature had laviſhed on the continent where they were ſettled. That channel of wealth had been diverted from the mother-country by being clogged with enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines, in concert with thoſe of the coppice woods, which are uſed in the working of them, had procured impoſts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue, and ſophiſtry, theſe enemies to the public good, had ſtifled a competition, which would have been fatal to their intereſts. At length the government took the firſt ſtep towards a right conduct. The importation of American iron into the port of London was granted, duty free; but at the ſame time it was forbidden to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles in-

* 5l. 12s.

land.

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land. This whimſical reſtriction continued till 1757. At that time the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance ſo manifeſtly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted excluſively to the capital.

THOUGH nothing could be more reaſonable than this demand, it met with the ſtrongeſt oppoſition. Combinations of intereſted individuals were formed, to repreſent, that the hundred and nine forges worked in England, not reckoning thoſe of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thouſand tons of iron, and employed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhauſtible, would have ſupplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehenſion prevailed, that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England conſumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thouſand cords of underwood, and that thoſe woods furniſhed, moreover, bark for the tanneries, and materials for ſhip-building; and that the American iron, not being proper for ſteel, for making ſharp inſtruments, or many of the utenſils of navigation, would contribute very little to leſſen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a ſtop to the forges of Great Britain.

THESE groundleſs repreſentations had no weight with the parliament, who ſaw clearly, that unleſs the price of the original materials could be leſſened, the nation would ſoon loſe the numberleſs manufactures

manufactures of iron and ſteel, by which it had ſo long been enriched; and there was no time to be loſt in putting a ſtop to the progreſs other nations were making in theſe works. It was therefore reſolved, that the free importation of iron from America ſhould be permitted in all the ports of England. This wiſe reſolution was accompanied with an act of juſtice. The proprietors of coppices were, by a ſtatute of Henry the Eighth, forbidden to clear their lands; but the parliament took off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make uſe of their eſtates as they ſhould think proper.

PREVIOUS to theſe regulations, Great Britain uſed to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden, and Ruſſia, ten millions of livres * for the iron ſhe purchaſed of them. This tribute is greatly leſſened, and will ſtill decreaſe. The ore is found in ſuch quantities in America, and is ſo eaſily ſeparated from the ground, that the Engliſh did not deſpair of having it in their power to furniſh Portugal, Turkey, Africa, the Eaſt Indies, and every country in the world with which they had any commercial connections.

PERHAPS the Engliſh might be too ſanguine in their repreſentations of the advantages they expected from ſo many articles of importance to their navy. But it was ſufficient for them, if by the aſſiſtance of their colonies they could free themſelves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe had hitherto kept

* 416,666l. 13s. 4d.

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them, with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Nothing appeared to them more capable of checking their natural ardour for the empire of the ſea, which alone could inſure to them the empire of the New World.

Can it be expected that wine and ſilk will proſper in North America?

AFTER having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, ſuperior to that of every other nation; England has adopted every meaſure that could contribute to her enjoyment of a ſpecies of conqueſt ſhe had made in America, not ſo much by the force of her arms as by her induſtry. In proportion as the ſettlements, from their natural tendency, advanced from the north to the ſouth, freſh projects and enterpriſes, ſuitable to the nature of the ſoil and of the climate, ſuggeſted themſelves. To the wood, the grains, and the cattle, which had been the former productions, were added ſucceſſively, rice, tobacco, indigo, and other riches. The Engliſh, who had no wine of their own growth in Europe, reſolved to endeavour to procure that alſo from the New Hemiſphere.

UPON the northern continent of North America are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, different in colour, ſize, and quantity, but all of a ſour and diſagreeable flavour. It was ſuppoſed that good management would give theſe plants that perfection, which unaſſiſted nature had denied them; and French vine-dreſſers were invited into a country, where neither public nor private impoſitions took away their inclination to labour, by depriving them of the fruits of their induſtry. The repeated experiments

riments they made, both with American and European plants, were all equally unſucceſsful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and too difficult to preſerve. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moiſt and hot vapours; the ſeaſons were too unſettled, and the inſects too numerous near the foreſts, to ſuffer a production to grow up and proſper, of which the Engliſh, and all other nations who have it not, are ſo ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, when this country will furniſh a liquor, in the preparation of which moſt parts of the globe are employed, and the uſe of which many other parts are ſo much attached to: but this event will not happen for ſeveral centuries, and after ſeveral repeated experiments. It is moſt probable that the harveſt of the vine will be preceded by that of ſilk; the work of that little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digeſted in it's entrails.

A VERY conſiderable ſum of money was annually exported from Great Britain for the purchaſe of this rich production; it was therefore determined to obtain it from Carolina; which, from the mildneſs of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry trees, ſeemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by the government to attract ſome Switzers into the colony, were yet more ſucceſsful than could have been expected. Yet the progreſs of this branch of trade has not been anſwerable to ſo promiſing a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants, who buying only Negro men, from

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whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who with their children might have been employed in bringing up silk-worms, an occupation suitable to the weakness of that sex, and to the tenderest age. But it ought to have been considered, that men, coming from another hemisphere into a rude uncultivated country, would apply their first care to the cultivation of esculent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate necessity. This is the natural and constant proceeding of well-governed states. From agriculture, which is the source of population, they rise to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nourish commerce, which is the child of industry and parent of wealth. In 1769, the parliament were of opinion that this period was at length arrived; and they granted a bounty of 25 per cent. for seven years on all raw silks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 per cent. for seven years following, and for seven years after that a bounty of 15 per cent. This encouragement would necessarily be followed by the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, and of several other plants. The nation thought, that there are few productions, either of Europe or Asia, which might not be transplanted and cultivated with more or less success on some of the vast countries of North America. Men only were wanting; and no proper precautions were neglected to increase their number.

With what kind of men the pro-

THE first persons who landed in this desert and savage region were Englishmen, who had been persecuted

perſecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

vinces of North America were peopled.

It was not to be expected that this firſt emigration would be attended with important conſequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are ſo ſtrongly attached to their native ſoil, that nothing leſs than civil wars or revolutions can incline thoſe among them, who have any property, character, or induſtry, to a change of climate and country: for which reaſon, the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity in the mother-country was likely to put an inſurmountable bar to the progreſs of American cultivation.

Add to this, that the Engliſh, though naturally active, ambitious, and enterpriſing, were ill-adapted to the buſineſs of clearing the ſoil of the New World. Accuſtomed to a quiet life, eaſe, and many conveniences, nothing but the enthuſiaſm of religion or politics could ſupport them under the labours, miſeries, wants and calamities, inſeparable from new plantations.

It is further to be obſerved, that, though England might have been able to overcome theſe difficulties, ſhe ought not to have wiſhed to do it. Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flouriſhing, and enriching herſelf with their productions, was an advantageous proſpect to her; but thoſe advantages would be dearly purchaſed at the expence of her own population.

Happily for her, the intolerant and deſpotic ſpirit that prevailed in moſt countries in Europe, forced numberleſs victims to take refuge in an un-

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cultivated tract, which, in it's ſtate of deſolation, ſeemed to implore that aſſiſtance for itſelf which it offered to the unfortunate. Theſe men, who had eſcaped from the rod of tyranny, in croſſing the ſeas, abandoned all the hopes of return, and attached themſelves for ever to a country, which at the ſame time afforded them an aſylum and an eaſy quiet ſubſiſtence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknow'n. Multitudes, particularly from Germany, flocked to partake of it. One of the advantages which the emigrants propoſed to themſelves was the becoming citizens throughout the whole extent of the Britiſh dominions, after a reſidence of ſeven years in any of the colonies.

While tyranny and perſecution were deſtroying and exhauſting population in Europe, Engliſh America was beginning to be filled with three ſorts of inhabitants. The firſt claſs, which is the moſt numerous, conſiſts of freemen.

The Europeans, who overrun and deſolate the globe for theſe three centuries paſt, have ſcattered colonies in moſt of the points of it's circumference; and their race hath more or leſs degenerated every where. The Engliſh ſettlements of North America appeared to have undergone a ſimilar fate. The inhabitants were univerſally thought to be leſs robuſt in labour, leſs powerful in war, and leſs adapted to the arts, than their anceſtors. Becauſe the care of clearing the lands, of purifying the air, of altering the climate, and of improving nature, had abſorbed all the faculties of this people; tranſplanted under another

another ſky, it was concluded that they were degenerated, and unable to elevate their minds to any complicated ſpeculations.

In order to diſpel this fatal prejudice, it became neceſſary that a Franklin ſhould teach the philoſophers of our continent the art of governing the thunder. It was neceſſary that the pupils of this illuſtrious man, ſhould throw a ſtriking light upon ſeveral branches of the natural ſciences. It was neceſſary that eloquence ſhould renew, in that part of the New World, thoſe ſtrong and rapid impreſſions which it had made in the proudeſt republics of antiquity. It was neceſſary that the rights of mankind, and the rights of nations, ſhould be firmly eſtabliſhed there, in original writings, which will be the delight and the conſolation of the moſt diſtant ages.

Works of imagination, and of taſte, will ſoon follow thoſe of reaſoning and obſervation. New England will ſoon, perhaps, be able to quote it's Homer, it's Theocritus, and it's Sophocles. Neither aſſiſtance, nor maſters, nor models, are now wanting. Education is diffuſed, and improves daily. There are, in proportion, more perſons well brought up, and they have more leiſure for proſecuting the bent of their genius, than men have in Europe, where the education, even of youth, is often contrary to the progreſs and to the unfolding of genius and of reaſon.

By a ſingular contraſt with the Old World, in which the arts have paſſed from the ſouth towards the north, we ſhall find that in the New World, the north will ſerve to enlighten the

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ſouthern parts. Hitherto, the mind as well as the body hath appeared enervated in the Weſt Indies. Men in thoſe parts, endowed with vivacity and early penetration, have a quick conception, but they do not perſevere in ſtudy, nor do they uſe themſelves to long-continued thought. Moſt of them have a great facility for acquiring every kind of knowlege, but have no deciſive turn for any particular ſcience. As they are forward, and come to maturity before us, they are far from perfection, and we are almoſt as near to it as we can be. The glory and happineſs of producing a change in their diſpoſitions muſt be the work of Engliſh America. But it is neceſſary that it ſhould take ſteps conformable to this noble deſign, and aim, by juſtice and laudable means, to form a ſet of people fit for the creation of a New World. This is what hath not yet been done.

The ſecond claſs of coloniſts was formerly compoſed of malefactors which the mother-country tranſported, after condemnation, to America, and who were bound to a ſervitude of ſeven or fourteen years to the planters who had purchaſed them from the courts of juſtice. Theſe corrupt men, always diſpoſed to commit freſh crimes, have at length been univerſally neglected.

They have been replaced by indigent perſons, whom the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting in Europe has driven into the New World. After having bought and ſold the Negro, there was but one crime which could go beyond this, this was, to ſell one's countryman, without having bought him; and to find

find ſome perſon who would buy him; accordingly this has been done. Having embarked without being able to pay for their paſſage, theſe wretched men are at the diſpoſal of their captain, who ſells them to whom he chuſes. This ſort of ſlavery is for a longer or ſhorter time; but it can never exceed eight years. If among theſe emigrants there are any who are not of age, their ſervitude laſts till they arrive at that period, which is fixed at twenty-one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls.

None of thoſe who are contracted for, have a right to marry without the approbation of their maſter, who ſets what price he chuſes on his conſent. If any one of them ſhould run away, and be retaken, he is to ſerve a week for each day's abſence a month for every week, and ſix months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deſerted from his ſervice, may ſell him to whom he chuſes, but that is only for the term of the firſt contract. Beſides, this ſervice doth not carry any ignominy with it; and the purchaſer does all that lies in his power to leſſen the ſtain received by this kind of ſale and purchaſe. At the end of his ſervitude, the contracted perſon enjoys all the rights of a free citizen. With his freedom, he receives from the maſter whom he has ſerved, either implements for huſbandry, or utenſils proper for his work.

But with whatever appearance of juſtice this ſpecies of traffic may be coloured, the greateſt part of the ſtrangers who go over to America under theſe conditions, would never go on board a ſhip,

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ſhip, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland ſpread themſelves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany, which are the beſt peopled or the leaſt happy. There they ſet forth with raptures the delights of the New World, and the fortunes eaſily acquired in that country. Simple men, ſeduced by theſe magnificent promiſes, blindly follow theſe infamous brokers, engaged in this ſcandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amſterdam, or Rotterdam. Theſe, who are in the pay of companies, who have undertaken to ſtock the colonies with inhabitants, give a gratuity to the men employed in this ſervice. Whole families are ſold, without their knowlege, to maſters at a diſtance, who impoſe the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and neceſſity do not permit the ſufferers to give a refuſal. America acquires it's ſupplies of men for huſbandry, as princes do for war, by the ſame artifices; but with a leſs honeſt, and perhaps, a more inhuman deſign; for who knows the number of thoſe who die, or who ſurvive their expectations! The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by carefully ſuppreſſing all correſpondence with America, which might unveil a myſtery of impoſture and iniquity, too well diſguiſed by the intereſted principles which gave riſe to it.

But, in a word, there would not be ſo many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppreſſion of government which makes theſe chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity of

of the people. Men, unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds, or contemptible at home, have nothing worſe to fear in a foreign climate, and eaſily purſue theproſpect of a better lot. The means made uſe of to retain them in a country, where chance has given them birth, are only calculated to excite in them a deſire to quit it. It is vainly ſuppoſed that they are to be confined by prohibitions, menaces, and puniſhments: theſe do but exaſperate them, and drive them to deſertion by the very forbidding of it. They ſhould be attached by milder means, and by future expectations; whereas they are impriſoned and bound: man, born free, is reſtrained from attempting to exiſt in regions, where heaven and earth offer him an aſylum. It has been thought better to ſtifle him in his cradle, than to let him ſeek for his ſubſiſtence in ſome favourable climate. It is not judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy! theſe are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights?

Is it then become neceſſary to lay open to the nations the ſchemes that are formed againſt their liberty? Muſt they be told, that by a conſpiracy of the moſt odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which muſt deprive even deſpair itſelf of every reſource? For theſe two centuries paſt, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating, in the ſecret receſſes of the cabinet, that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompaſſed on every ſide. At every negociation freſh links were added to the chain ſo artificially

artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make ſtates more extenſive, but ſubjects more ſubmiſſive, by gradually ſubſtituting military government to the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The ſeveral ſovereigns have all equally ſtrengthened themſelves in their tyranny by their conqueſts, or by their loſſes. When they were victorious they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the miſery of their puſillanimous ſubjects; if they were either competitors or adverſaries from motives of ambition, they entered into league or alliance, only to aggravate the ſervitude of their people. Whether they meant to excite war, or to preſerve peace, they were certain of turning to the advantage of their authority, either the aggrandiſement, or the humiliation of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhauſted every other, that they might either recover it, or indemnify themſelves for the loſs. If they acquired a new one, the haughtineſs they affected out of it, was the occaſion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another, by turns, every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur ſometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalſhip, ſometimes to obliterate the character of the nations; as if there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to ſubject the nations, one by means of another, to the deſpotiſm they had conſtantly been preparing for them. Ye people, who all groan more or leſs ſecretly, be not blinded with reſpect to your condition; thoſe who never entertained

tertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear for you. In the extremity of wretchedneſs one ſingle reſource remained for you; that of eſcape and emigration.—Even that has been ſhut againſt you.

PRINCES have agreed among themſelves to reſtore to one another deſerters, who, for the moſt part, enliſted by compulſion or by fraud, have a right to eſcape; not only villains, who, in reality, ought not to find a refuge any where; but indifferently all their ſubjects, whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

THUS all ye unhappy labourers, who find neither ſubſiſtence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance; thus ye die where ye had the misfortune to be born, ye have no refuge but in the grave. All ye artiſts and workmen of every ſpecies, haraſſed by monopolies, who are refuſed the right of working at your own free diſpoſal, unleſs you have purchaſed the privileges of your calling: ye who are kept for your whole life in the workſhop, for the purpoſe of enriching a privileged factor: ye whom a court-mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages; never expect to live out of a country where ſoldiers and guards keep you impriſoned; go, wander in deſpair, and die of regret. If ye venture to complain, your cries will be re-echoed and loſt in the depth of a dungeon; if ye make your eſcape, ye will be purſued even beyond mountains and rivers: ye will be ſent back, or given

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given up, bound hand and foot, to torture; and to that eternal reſtraint, to which you have been condemned from your birth. Do you likewiſe, whom nature has endowed with a free ſpirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you eraſe from your minds every idea of truth, nature, and humanity! Applaud every incroachment made on your country and your fellow-citizens, or elſe maintain a profound ſilence in the receſſes of obſcurity and concealment. All ye who were born in thoſe barbarous ſtates, where the condition for the mutual reſtoration of deſerters has been entered into by the ſeveral princes, and ſealed by a treaty; recollect the inſcription Dante has engraven on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, laſciate omai ogni ſperanza: You who enter here, leave behind you every hope.*

What! is there then no aſylum remaining beyond the ſeas? Will not England open her colonies to thoſe wretches, who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the inſupportable yoke of their own country? What occaſion has ſhe for that infamous band of contracted ſlaves, ſeduced and debauched by the ſhameful means employed by every ſtate to increaſe their armies? What need has ſhe of thoſe beings ſtill more miſerable, of whom ſhe compoſes another claſs of her inhabitants?

Yes, by an antiquity, the more ſhocking as it is apparently the leſs neceſſary; the northern provinces have had recourſe to the traffic and ſlavery of the Negroes. It will not be diſowned, that they

they may be better fed, better clothed, leſs ill-treated, and leſs overburthened with toil, than in the iſlands. The laws protect them more effectually, and they ſeldom become the victims of the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But ſtill, what muſt be the burthen of a man's life who is condemned to languiſh in eternal ſlavery? Some humane ſectaries, Chriſtians who look for virtues in the goſpel, more than for opinions, have often been deſirous of reſtoring to their ſlaves that liberty for which they cannot receive any adequate compenſation; but they have been a long time witholden by a law, which directed that an aſſignment of a ſufficiency for ſubſiſtence, ſhould be made to thoſe who were ſet at liberty.

Let us rather ſay, they have been prevented from doing this by the convenient cuſtom of being waited on by ſlaves; by the fondneſs they have for power, which they attempt to juſtify by pretending to alleviate their ſervitude; and by the opinion ſo readily entertained that the ſlaves do not complain of a ſtate, which is by time changed into nature: theſe are the ſophiſms of ſelf-love, calculated to appeaſe the clamours of conſcience. The generality of mankind are not born with evil diſpoſitions, or prone to do ill by choice; but even among thoſe whom nature ſeems to have formed juſt and good, there are but few who poſſeſs a ſoul ſufficiently diſintereſted, courageous, and great, to do any good action, if they muſt ſacrifice ſome advantage for it.

But ſtill the quakers have lately ſet an example which ought to make an epocha in the hiſtory of religion and humanity. In one of their aſſemblies, where every one of the faithful, who conceives himſelf moved by the impulſe of the holy ſpirit, has a right of ſpeaking; one of the brethren, who was himſelf undoubtedly inſpired on this occaſion, aroſe and ſaid: "How long then "ſhall we have two conſciences, two meaſures, "two ſcales! one in our own favour, one for the "ruin of our neighbour, both equally falſe? Is it "for us, brethren, to complain at this moment, "that the parliament of England wiſhes to en"ſlave us, and to impoſe upon us the yoke of "ſubjects, without leaving us the rights of ci"tizens; while for this century paſt, we have "been calmly acting the part of tyrants, by "keeping in bonds of the hardeſt ſlavery men "who are our equals and our brethren? What "have thoſe unhappy men done to us, whom "nature had ſeparated from us by barriers ſo for"midable, whom our avarice has ſought after "through ſtorms and wrecks, and brought away "from the midſt of their burning ſands, or from "their dark foreſts inhabited by tygers? What "crime have they been guilty of, that they "ſhould be tor'n from a country which fed them "without toil, and that they ſhould be tranſ"planted by us to a land where they periſh under "the labours of ſervitude? Father of Heaven, "what family haſt Thou then created, in which "the elder born, after having ſeized on the pro"perty of their brethren, are ſtill reſolved to "compel

"compel them, with ſtripes, to manure with the "blood of their veins and the ſweat of their brow "that very inheritance of which they have been "robbed? Deplorable race, whom we render "brutes to tyrannize over them; in whom we "extinguiſh every power of the ſoul, to load "their limbs and their bodies with burthens; in "whom we efface the image of God, and the "ſtamp of manhood. A race mutilated and "diſhonoured as to the faculties of mind and "body, throughout it's exiſtence, by us who are "Chriſtians and Engliſhmen! Engliſhmen, ye "people favoured by Heaven, and reſpected on "the ſeas; would ye be free and tyrants at the "ſame inſtant? No; brethren! it is time we "ſhould be conſiſtent with ourſelves. Let us ſet "free thoſe miſerable victims of our pride: Let "us reſtore the Negroes to that liberty, which "man ſhould never take from man. May all "Chriſtian ſocieties be induced, by our example, "to repair an injuſtice authoriſed by the crimes "and plunders of two centuries! May men too "long degraded, at length raiſe to Heaven their "arms freed from chains, and their eyes bathed "in tears of gratitude! Alas! theſe unhappy "mortals have hitherto ſhed no tears but thoſe of "deſpair!"

THIS diſcourſe awakened remorſe, and the ſmall number of ſlaves who belonged to the Quakers were ſet at liberty. If the fetters of theſe unfortunate people were not broken by the other coloniſts of North America, yet Pennſylvania, New Jerſey, and Virginia, warmly ſoli-

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cited that this infamous traffic of men ſhould be prohibited. Every colony of this vaſt continent appeared diſpoſed to follow this example: but they were prevented by an order from the mother-country to it's delegates, to reject every propoſal tending to this humane project. This cruel prohibition would not have been ſurpriſing, if it had come from thoſe countries which are as deep ſunk in barbariſm by the ſhackles of vice, as they have formerly been by thoſe of ignorance. When a government, both ſacerdotal and military, has brought every thing, even the opinions of men, under it's yoke; when man, become an impoſtor, has perſuaded the armed multitude, that he holds from Heaven the right of oppreſſing the earth, there is no ſhadow of liberty left for civilized nations. Why ſhould they not take their revenge on the people of the torrid zone? But I ſhall never comprehend by what fatality that legiſlation, which is the moſt happily planned of any that hath ever exiſted, hath been capable of preferring the intereſt of a few of it's merchants, to the dictates of nature, of reaſon, and of virtue.

To what degree the population of North America hath ariſen.

THE population of North America conſiſts of four hundred thouſand Negroes, and of two millions five or ſix hundred thouſand white people, if the calculations of congreſs be not exaggerated. The number of citizens doubles every fifteen or ſixteen years, in ſome of thoſe provinces, and every eighteen or twenty years in others. So rapid an increaſe muſt have two ſources; the firſt is that a number of Iriſhmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers,

Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, after having been wor'n out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in ſearch of peace and quietneſs in theſe diſtant climates. The ſecond ſource of that amazing increaſe ariſes from the climate itſelf of the colonies, where experience has ſhew'n that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five-and-twenty years. The obſervations of Mr. Franklin will make theſe truths evident.

The numbers of the people, ſays that philoſopher, increaſe every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increaſes as the means of ſubſiſting a family are rendered more eaſy. In a country where the means of ſubſiſtence abound, more people marry early. In a ſociety, whoſe proſperity is a mark of it's antiquity, the rich, alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, engage as late as poſſible in a ſtate, which is difficult to enter into, and expenſive to maintain; and the perſons, who have no fortunes, paſs their days in a celibacy which diſturbs the married ſtate. The maſters have but few children, the ſervants have none at all; and the artiſans are afraid of having any. This circumſtance is ſo evident, eſpecially in great towns, that the population in them is not kept up to it's uſual ſtandard, and that we conſtantly find there a greater number of deaths than births. Happily for us this decreaſe has not yet penetrated into the country, where the conſtant

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practice of making up the deficiency of the towns, gives a little more ſcope for population. But the lands being every where occupied, and let at the higheſt rate, thoſe who cannot acquire property of their own, are hired by thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of it. Competition, which ariſes from the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour, and the ſmallneſs of profit takes away the deſire and the hope of, as well as the abilities requiſite for, increaſe by marriage. Such is the preſent ſtate of Europe.

That of America preſents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waſte and uncultivated, are either given away, or may be obtained for ſo moderate a price, that a man of the leaſt turn for labour, is furniſhed in a ſhort time with an extent, which, while it is ſufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his poſterity for a conſiderable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the New World, marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life, than the inhabitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter into the married ſtate in Europe, there are two hundred in America; and if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we ſhould allow, at leaſt, eight in the New Hemiſphere. If we multiply theſe families by their produce, it will appear that in leſs than two centuries, North America will arrive at an immenſe degree of population, unleſs it's natural progreſs ſhould be impeded by obſtacles which it is not poſſible to foreſee.

Manners prevailing at preſent in North America.

It is now peopled with healthy and robuſt men, of a ſtature above the common ſize. Theſe Creoles come to their full growth ſooner, than the Europeans, but do not live ſo long. The inhabitants are ſupplied with great plenty of every thing requiſite for food, by the low price of meat, fiſh, grain, game, fruits, cyder, and vegetables. Clothing is not ſo eaſily procured, that being ſtill very dear, whether it be brought from Europe, or made in the country. Manners are in the ſtate they ſhould be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, who are not yet poliſhed nor corrupted by reſiding in great cities. Throughout the families in general, there reigns œconomy, neatneſs, and regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the paſſions of indolent opulence, ſeldom interrupt that happy tranquillity. The female ſex are ſtill what they ſhould be, gentle, modeſt, compaſſionate, and uſeful; they are in poſſeſſion of thoſe virtues which perpetuate the empire of their charms. The men are engaged in their firſt occupations, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the ſupport of their poſterity. One general ſentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union ſo much as a certain equality of ſtation, a ſecurity that ariſes from property, hope, and a general facility of increaſing it; in a word, nothing contributes to it ſo much as the reciprocal independence in which all men live, with reſpect to their wants, joined to the neceſſity of ſocial connections for the purpoſes of their pleaſures. Inſtead of luxury, which

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brings misery in it's train, instead of this afflicting and shocking contrast, an universal ease, wisely dealt out in the original distribution of the lands, has by the influence of industry given rise in every breast to the mutual desire of pleasing; a desire, without doubt, more satisfactory than the secret disposition to injure our brethren, which is inseparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without satisfaction, when they are neither in that state of mutual distance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalship which borders on hatred. They come nearer together and unite in societies; in short, it is in the colonies that men lead such a rural life as was the original destination of mankind, best suited to the health and increase of the species: probably they enjoy all the happiness consistent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there those graces, those talents, those refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which wear out and fatigue the springs of the soul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy which so naturally follow the disgust arising from sensual enjoyment; but there are the pleasures of domestic life, the mutual attachments of parents and children, and conjugal love, that passion so pure and so delicious to the soul that can taste it, and despise all other gratifications. This is the enchanting prospect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida and Virginia, even in the forests of Canada, that men are enabled to continue to love during their whole life what was the object of their first affection,

that

that innocence and virtue, which never entirely loſe their beauty.

If there be any circumſtance wanting to the happineſs of Britiſh America, it is that of forming one entire nation. Families are there found ſometimes re-united, ſometimes diſperſed, originating from all the different countries of Europe. Theſe coloniſts, in whatever ſpot chance or diſcernment may have placed them, all preſerve, with a prejudice not to be wor'n out, their mother-tongue, the partialities and the cuſtoms of their own country. Separate ſchools and churches hinder them from mixing with the hoſpitable people, who afforded them a place of refuge. Still more eſtranged from this people by worſhip, by manners, and probably by their feelings, they harbour ſeeds of diſſention that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preſervative againſt this diſaſter depends entirely on the conduct of the governments they belong to.

Nature of the governments eſtabliſhed in North America.

By governments muſt not be underſtood thoſe ſtrange conſtitutions of Europe, which are an abſurd mixture of ſacred and profane laws. Engliſh America was wiſe or happy enough not to admit any eccleſiaſtical power: being from the beginning inhabited by Preſbyterians, ſhe rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs which in the other parts of the globe are determined by the eccleſiaſtical courts, are here brought before the civil magiſtrate, or the national aſſemblies. The attempts made by the members of the Engliſh church to eſtabliſh their

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hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithſtanding the ſupport given them by the mother-country: but ſtill they are equally concerned in the adminiſtration as well as thoſe of other ſects. None but Catholics have been excluded, on account of their refuſing thoſe oaths which the public tranquillity ſeemed to require. In this view American government has deſerved the greateſt commendation; but in other reſpects, it is not ſo well regulated.

Policy, in it's aim and principal object, reſembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and ſhould be in ſeveral reſpects ſimilar to each other. Savage people, firſt united in ſociety, require, as much as children, to be ſometimes led on by gentle means, and ſometimes reſtrained by compulſion. For want of experience, which alone forms our reaſon, as theſe ſavages are incapable of governing themſelves in the ſeveral changes of things and the various concerns that belong to a riſing ſociety, the government that conducts them ſhould itſelf be enlightened, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Thus it is that barbarous nations are naturally ſubject to the oppreſſive yoke of deſpotic power, till in the advanced ſtate of ſociety their intereſts teach them to connect themſelves.

Civilized nations, like young men, more or leſs advanced, not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as ſoon as they become ſenſible of their own ſtrength, and right, require to be managed and even attended

tended to by their governors. A ſon well educated ſhould engage in no undertaking without conſulting his father: a prince, on the contrary, ſhould make no regulations without conſulting his people: further, the ſon, in reſolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing but his own happineſs; in all that a prince ordains, the happineſs of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and ſpeaks, is the rule of the government: and the prince ſhould never thwart that opinion without public reaſons, nor oppoſe it without having firſt convinced the people of their error. Government is to model all it's forms according to public opinion: this, it is well know'n, varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may, without finding the leaſt reſiſtance, do an act of authority, not to be revived by his ſucceſſor, without exciting the public indignation. From whence does this difference ariſe? The firſt cannot have thwarted an opinion that was not ſprung up in his time, but the latter may have openly counteracted it a century after. The firſt, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, may, without the knowlege of the public, have taken a ſtep, the violence of which he may have ſoftened or made amends for by the happy ſucceſs of his government; the other ſhall, perhaps, have increaſed the public calamities by ſuch unjuſt acts of wilful authority, as may perpetuate it's firſt abuſes. Public remonſtrance is generally the reſult of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government:

and

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and becauſe the public opinion governs mankind, kings, for this reaſon, become the rulers of men. Governments then, as well as opinions, ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened people? It is the permanent intereſt of ſociety, the ſafety and advantage of the nation. This intereſt is modified by the turn of events and ſituations; public opinion and the form of the government follow theſe ſeveral modifications. This is the ſource of all the forms of government, eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh, who are rational and free, throughout North America.

The government of Nova-Scotia, of one of the provinces in New England, New York, New Jerſey, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, is ſtyled royal; becauſe the king of England is there inveſted with the ſupreme authority. Repreſentatives of the people form a houſe of commons, as in the mother-country: a ſelect council, approved by the king, intended to ſupport the prerogatives of the crown, repreſents the houſe of peers, and maintains that repreſentation by the fortune and rank of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the country, who are members of it. A governor convenes, prorogues, and diſſolves their aſſemblies; gives or refuſes aſſent to their deliberations, which receive from his approbation the force of law, till the king, to whom they are tranſmitted, has rejected them.

The ſecond kind of government which takes place in the colonies, is know'n by the name of proprietary government. When the Engliſh firſt ſettled

ſettled in thoſe diſtant regions, a rapacious and active court-favourite eaſily obtained in thoſe waſtes, which were as large as kingdoms, a property and authority without bounds. A bow and a few ſkins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchaſed for a man in power the right of ſovereignty, or of governing at pleaſure in an unknow'n country: ſuch was the origin of government in the greater part of the colonies. At preſent, Maryland and Pennſylvania are the only provinces under this ſingular form of government, or rather this ſingular foundation of ſovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs from the reſt of the provinces only by receiving it's governor from the family of Baltimore, whoſe nomination is to be approved by the king. In Pennſylvania, the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not ſupported by a council, which gives a kind of ſuperiority, and he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally veſted all authority.

A THIRD form, ſtyled by the Engliſh Charter government, ſeems more calculated to produce harmony in the conſtitution. At preſent this ſubſiſts only in Connecticut and Rhode-Iſland; but it was formerly extended to all the provinces in New England. It may be conſidered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themſelves elect and depoſe all their officers, and make whatever laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the aſſent of the king, or his having any right to annul them.

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At length the conqueſt of Canada, joined to the acquiſition of Florida, has given riſe to a form of legiſlation hitherto unknow'n throughout the realm of Great Britain. Thoſe provinces have been put or left under the yoke of military, and conſequently abſolute authority. Without any right to aſſemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every order of government.

This diverſity of governments is not the work of the mother-country. We do not find in it the traces of a reaſonable, uniform, and regular legiſlation. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times, and of the founders of the colonies, that have produced this motley variety of conſtitutions. It is not the province of men, who are caſt by chance upon a deſert coaſt, to conſtitute legiſlation.

All legiſlation, in it's nature, ſhould aim at the happineſs of ſociety. The means by which it is to attain this great end, depend entirely on it's natural qualities. Climate, that is to ſay, the ſky and the ſoil, are the firſt rule for the legiſlator. His reſources dictate to him his duties. In the firſt inſtance, the local poſition ſhould be conſulted. A number of people throw'n on a maritime coaſt, will have laws more or leſs relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the ſea or land may have on the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants who are to people that deſert coaſt. If the new colony be led by the courſe of ſome large river far within land, a legiſ-

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lator ought to have regard to the quality of the ſoil, and the degree of it's fertility, as well as to the connections the colony will have either at home or abroad by the traffic of commodities moſt conducive to it's proſperity.

But the wiſdom of legiſlation will chiefly appear in the diſtribution of property. It is a general rule, which obtains in all countries, that when a colony is founded, an extent of land be given to every perſon ſufficient for the maintenance of a family; more ſhould be given to thoſe who have abilities to make the neceſſary advances towards improvement; and ſome ſhould be reſerved for poſterity, or for additional ſettlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

The firſt object of a riſing colony is ſubſiſtence and population: the next is the proſperity likely to flow from theſe two ſources. To avoid occaſions of war, whether offenſive or defenſive; to turn induſtry towards thoſe objects which are moſt advantageous; not to form connections around them, except ſuch as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the ſtability which the colony acquires by the numbers of it's inhabitants, and the nature of it's reſources; to introduce, above all things, a partial and local ſpirit in a nation which is going to be eſtabliſhed, a ſpirit of union within, and of peace without; to refer every inſtitution to a diſtant but fixed point; and to make every occaſional law ſubſervient to the ſettled regulation which alone is to effect an increaſe of numbers, and to give ſtability to the

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ſettlement: theſe circumſtances make no more than a ſketch of a legiſlation.

THE moral ſyſtem is to be formed on the nature of the climate; a large field for population is at firſt to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends upon the facility of procuring ſubſiſtence. Sanctity of manners ſhould be eſtabliſhed by opinion. In a barbarous iſland, which is to be ſtocked with children, no more would be neceſſary than to leave the principles of truth to unfold themſelves with the natural progreſs of reaſon. By proper precautions againſt thoſe idle fears which proceed from ignorance, the errors of ſuperſtition ſhould be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural paſſions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, diſſipates every phantom. But when people, already advanced in life, are to be eſtabliſhed in a new country, the ability of legiſlation conſiſts in removing every injurious opinion or habit which may be cured or corrected. If we wiſh that theſe ſhould not be tranſmitted to poſterity, we ſhould attend to the ſecond generation, by inſtituting a general and public education of the children. A prince or legiſlator ſhould never found a colony, without previouſly ſending thither ſome proper perſons for the education of youth; that is, ſome governors rather than teachers: for it is of leſs moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education is ineffectual, when the people are already corrupted. The ſeeds of morality and virtue, ſow'n in the infant ſtate of a ge-

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neration already vitiated, are annihilated in the early ſtages of manhood by debauchery, and the contagion of ſuch vices as have already become habitual in ſociety. The beſt educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements, and forming connections, which will wholly influence them during the remainder of their lives. If they marry, follow any profeſſion, or purſuit, they find the ſeeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition; a conduct entirely oppoſite to their principles; example and diſcourſe which diſconcerts and combats their beſt reſolutions.

But in a riſing colony, the influence of the firſt generation may be corrected by the manners of the ſucceeding one. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The neceſſities of life remove all vices proceeding from want of employment. The overflowing of it's population hath a natural tendency towards the mother-country, where luxury continually invites and ſeduces the rich and voluptuous planter. A legiſlator, who intends to refine the conſtitution and manners of a colony, will meet with every aſſiſtance he can require. If he be only poſſeſſed of abilities and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage, will ſuggeſt to his mind a plan of ſociety, that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheſes that are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumſtances too difficult to be foreſeen and combined.

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But the chief baſis of a ſociety for cultivation or commerce, is property. It is the ſeed of good and evil, natural or moral, conſequent on the ſocial ſtate. Every nation ſeems to be divided into two irreconcileable parties. The rich and the poor, the men of property and the hirelings; that is to ſay, maſters and ſlaves, form two claſſes of citizens, unfortunately, in oppoſition to one another. In vain have ſome modern authors wiſhed by ſophiſtry to eſtabliſh a treaty of peace between theſe two ſtates. The rich on all occaſions are diſpoſed to obtain a great deal from the poor at little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to ſet too high a value on their labour: while the rich man muſt always give the law in this too unequal bargain. Hence ariſes the ſyſtem of counterpoiſe eſtabliſhed in ſo many countries. The people have not wiſhed to attack property which they conſidered as ſacred, but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check it's natural tendency to univerſal power. Theſe counterpoiſes have almoſt always been ill-applied, as they were but a feeble remedy againſt the original evil in ſociety. It is then to the repartition of lands that a legiſlator will turn his principal attention. The more wiſely that diſtribution ſhall be managed, the more ſimple, uniform, and exact will be thoſe laws of the country which chiefly conduce to the preſervation of property.

The Engliſh colonies partake, in this reſpect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient conſtitution of the mother-country. As it's preſent go-

vernment is but a reformation of that feudal ſyſtem which had oppreſſed all Europe, it ſtill retains many uſages, which being originally nothing more than abuſes of ſervitude, are ſtill more ſenſibly felt by their contraſt with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found neceſſary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility, to thoſe which modify, leſſen, abrogate, or ſoften the feudal rights. Hence ſo many laws of exception for one original law; ſo many of interpretation for one fundamental; ſo many new laws that are at variance with the old. Hence it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code ſo diffuſe, ſo perplexed, as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wiſeſt men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed againſt this diſorder. They have either not been hear'd, or the changes which have been produced by their remonſtrances have only ſerved to increaſe the confuſion.

By their dependence, and their ignorance, the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digeſted code, the burden of which oppreſſed their anceſtors: they have added to that obſcure heap of materials by every new law that the times, manners, and place could introduce. From this mixture has reſulted a chaos the moſt difficult to put in order; a collection of contradictions that require much pains to reconcile. Immediately there ſprang up a numerous body of lawyers, to prey upon the lands and inhabitants of thoſe new ſettled climates. The fortune and influence they have acquired in a ſhort time, have brought into

ſubjection to their rapacioſneſs the valuable claſs of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, in all the arts and labours moſt indiſpenſably neceſſary for every ſociety, but almoſt ſingularly eſſential to a riſing community. To the ſevere evil of chicane, which has fixed itſelf on the branches, in order to ſeize on the fruit, has ſucceeded that of finance, which deſtroys the heart and the root of the tree.

The coin that has been current in the Engliſh colonies in North America.

In the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the ſame value as in the mother-country. The ſcarcity of it ſoon occaſioned a riſe of one-third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of ſpecie which came from the Spaniſh colonies; becauſe it was neceſſary to tranſmit that into England in order to pay for the merchandiſe wanted from thence. This was a gulph that abſorbed the circulation in the colonies. It was, however, neceſſary to eſtabliſh a mode of exchange; and every province, except Virginia, ſought for it in the creation of a paper currency.

The general government made at firſt but a moderate uſe of this expedient; but the diſputes with the ſavages increaſing, as well as the wars againſt Canada, occaſioned men of an enterpriſing ſpirit to form complicated and extenſive projects; and the management of the public treaſury was intruſted to rapacious or unſkilful hands. This reſource was then more freely employed than was proper. In vain were taxes levied at firſt, in order to pay the intereſt of the paper, and to take up the paper itſelf at a ſtipulated period. New debts were contracted to ſatisfy freſh wants,

wants, and engagements were generally carried beyond all exceſs. In Pennſylvania alone, the paper currency of the ſtate preſerved unremittingly it's entire value. The credit of it was ſhaken in two or three other colonies, though it was not entirely loſt. But in the two Carolinas, and in the four provinces which conſtitute what is commonly called New England, it fell into ſuch diſcredit from the multiplicity of it, that it could no longer be circulated at any rate. Maſſachuſet's Bay, which had conquered Cape Breton from the French, received from the mother-country 4,050,000 livres * of indemnification. With this ſum they paid off twelve times the value in their paper, and thoſe who received the money thought they had made a very good bargain. The parliament, aware of this miſchief, made ſome attempts to remedy it; but their meaſures were only very imperfectly ſucceſsful. It would certainly have been a more effectual ſtep, than any of thoſe which had been invented by either a good or bad policy, to have broken the fetters with which the internal induſtry, and the external commerce, of ſo many great ſettlements were ſhackled.

Regulations to which the internal induſtry and the external trade of North America had been ſubjected.

THE firſt coloniſts who peopled North America applied themſelves ſolely to agriculture. They ſoon perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted, and they therefore found themſelves in a manner compelled to ſet up ſome rude manufactures. The intereſts of

* 168,750 l.

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the mother-country ſeemed to be affected by this innovation; which was made a matter of parliamentary inquiry, and diſcuſſed with all the attention it deſerved. There were men bold enough to defend the cauſe of the coloniſts. They urged, that as the buſineſs of tillage did not employ men all the year, it was tyranny to oblige them to waſte in idleneſs the time which the land did not require: that as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furniſh them to the extent of their wants, the preventing them from providing againſt them by a new ſpecies of induſtry, was in fact reducing them to the greateſt diſtreſs: in a word, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to enhance the price of all proviſions in a riſing ſtate, to leſſen, or, perhaps, ſtop the ſale of them, and to deter ſuch perſons as might intend to ſettle in it.

THE evidence of theſe principles was not to be controverted: they were complied with after great debates. The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own cloaths themſelves, but with ſuch reſtrictions as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of juſtice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another on this account was ſeverely prohibited. They were forbidden, under the heavieſt penalties, to traffic with each other for wool of any ſort, raw or manufactured. However, ſome manufacturers of hats ventured to break through theſe reſtrictions. To put a ſtop to what was termed a heinous diſorderly practice, the parliament had recourſe to the mean and

and cruel expedient of law. A workman was not at liberty to ſet up for himſelf till after ſeven years apprenticeſhip; a maſter was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any ſlave in his work-ſhop.

IRON mines, which ſeem to put into men's hands the inſtruments of their own independence, were laid under reſtrictions ſtill more ſevere. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough pieces, any where but to the mother-country. Without being provided with crucibles to melt it, or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to faſhion it, they had ſtill leſs liberty of converting it into ſteel.

IMPORTATION was ſubjected to ſtill further reſtraints. All foreign veſſels, unleſs in evident diſtreſs or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or ſilver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even Engliſh veſſels were not admitted there, unleſs they came immediately from ſome port of the country. The ſhips of the colonies going to Europe, were to bring back no merchandiſe but from the mother-country. Every thing was included in this proſcription, except wine from the Madeiras, the Azores, and the Canaries, and ſalt for the fiſheries.

ALL exportations were originally to terminate in England: but important reaſons determined the government to relax and abate this extreme ſeverity. The coloniſts were allowed to carry directly ſouth of Cape Finiſterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, ſalt fiſh, planks, and timber. All other productions were reſerved for

the mother-country. Even Ireland, which afforded an advantageous mart for corn, flax, and pipe-ſtaves, has been ſhut againſt them by an act of parliament.

THE parliament, which repreſents the nation, aſſumed the right of directing commerce in it's whole extent throughout the Britiſh dominions. It is by this authority it pretends to regulate the connections between the mother-country and the colonies, to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal re-action between the ſcattered parts of an immenſe empire. There ſhould, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the concerns that may be uſeful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole ſociety. The parliament is the only body that can aſſume ſuch an important power. But it ought to employ it to the advantage of every member of ſociety. This is an inviolable maxim, eſpecially in a ſtate where all the powers are formed and directed for the preſervation of national liberty.

THAT principle of impartiality was unattended to, which alone can maintain an equal ſtate of independence among the ſeveral members of a free government; when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother-country all their productions, even thoſe which were not for their own conſumption: when they were obliged to take from the mother-country all kinds of merchandiſe, even thoſe which came from foreign nations. This imperious and uſeleſs reſtraint, loading the ſales and purchaſes of the Americans with unneceſſary

ceſſary and ruinous charges, has neceſſarily leſſened their induſtry, and conſequently diminiſhed their profits; and it has been only for the purpoſe of enriching a few merchants, or ſome factors at home, that the rights and intereſts of the colonies have thus been ſacrificed. All they owed to England for the protection they received from her, was only a preference in the ſale and importation of all ſuch of their commodities as ſhe ſhould conſume; and a preference in the purchaſe and in the exportation of all ſuch merchandiſe as came from her hands: ſo far all ſubmiſſion was a return of gratitude: beyond it all obligation was violence.

Thus it is that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Tranſgreſſion is the firſt effect produced by unreaſonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that ſmuggling was contrary to the fundamental intereſt of their ſettlements, to all reaſon of government, and to the expreſs intentions of law. In vain has it been continually laid down in public writings, that the ſubject who pays duty is oppreſſed by him who does not pay it; and that the fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader by diſappointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing ſuch frauds, and freſh penalties inflicted for the puniſhment of them. The voice of intereſt, reaſon, and equity has prevailed over all the numberleſs clamours and various attempts of finance. Foreign importations ſmuggled into North Ame-

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rica, amount to one-third of thoſe which pay duty.

An indefinite liberty, or merely reſtrained within proper limits, would have put a ſtop to the prohibited engagements of which ſo much complaint had been made. Then the colonies would have arrived to a ſtate of affluence, which would have enabled them to diſcharge a load of debt due to the mother-country, amounting to one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty millions of livres*. They would then have draw'n from thence annually goods to the amount of forty-five millions of livres†, the ſum to which their wants had been raiſed in the moſt ſucceſsful periods. But inſtead of having their deſtiny alleviated, as they were inceſſantly demanding, theſe great ſettlements ſaw themſelves threatened with a tax.

Diſtreſs'd ſtate of England in 1763.

England had juſt emerged from a long and bloody war, during which her fleets had been victorious in all the ſeas, and her conqueſts had enlarged her dominions, already too extenſive, with an immenſe acquiſition of territory in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. This ſplendour might perhaps externally dazzle the nations; but the country was continually obliged to lament it's acquiſitions and it's triumphs. Oppreſſed with a load of debt to the amount of 3,330,000,000 of livres ‡, that coſt her an intereſt of 111,577,490 livres ‖ a year; ſhe was ſcarce able to ſupport

* From 5,000,000 l. to 5,416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.
† 1,875,000 l. ‡ 138,750,000 l.
‖ 4,649,062 l. 1 s. 8 d.

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the neceſſary expences of the ſtate, with a revenue of 130,000,000 of livres *; and that revenue was ſo far from increaſing, that it was not even certain it would continue.

THE lands were charged with a heavier tax than had ever been impoſed in time of peace. New duties were laid on houſes and windows; and the controul of the acts was oppreſſive on all kinds of property. Wine, plate, cards, dice, and every thing which was conſidered as an object of luxury or amuſement, paid more than it could have been thought poſſible. To compenſate for the ſacrifice which had been made for the preſervation of the citizens, by prohibiting ſpirituous liquors, duties were laid on the ordinary drink of the common people, on malt, cyder, and beer. The ports diſpatched nothing for foreign kingdoms, and received nothing from them, but what was loaded with duties, both of export and import. Materials and workmanſhip had ſo prodigiouſly riſen in price in Great Britain, that her merchants were ſupplanted even in the countries where they had not till then met with any competitors. The commercial profits of England with every part of the world, did not amount annually to more than 56,000,000 livres †; but of this balance 35,000,000 livres ‖ were to be deducted, to pay the arrears of the ſums which foreigners had placed in the public funds.

THE ſprings of the State were all ſtrained. The muſcles of the body politic being in a ſtate of ex-

* 5,416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. † 2,333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.
‡ 1,458,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

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treme tenſion, were in ſome meaſure throw'n out of their place. The criſis was a violent one. The people ſhould have been allowed time to recover. They could not be eaſed by a diminution of expences; for thoſe made by government were neceſſary, either for the purpoſe of improving the conqueſts, purchaſed at the price of ſo much blood and treaſure, or to reſtrain the reſentment of the houſe of Bourbon, irritated by the humiliations of the late war, and the ſacrifices of the late peace. As other means did not occur, which might ſecure the preſent, as well as future proſperity of the nation, it was thought proper to call in the colonies to the aid of the mother-country. Theſe views were prudent and juſt.

England calls it's colonies to it's aſſiſtance.

THE members of a confederate body muſt all of them contribute to it's defence and it's ſplendour, in proportion to their reſpective abilities; as it is only by public ſtrength that each claſs is enabled to preſerve the entire and peaceful enjoyments of it's poſſeſſions. The poor are certainly leſs intereſted in this than the wealthy; but yet their tranquillity is concerned in it, in the firſt place, and in the ſecond place, the national riches, which they are called upon to ſhare by their induſtry. There can be no ſocial principle more evident, and yet the infringement of it is the moſt ordinary of all political faults. From whence can ariſe this perpetual contradiction between the conviction and the conduct of government?

IT ariſes from the fault of the legiſlative power, in exaggerating the means for maintaining the public

lic ſtrength, and in employing for it's own caprices part of the funds deſtined for this purpoſe. The wealth of the merchant and of the farmer, and the ſubſiſtence of the poor, taken from them in the country places and in the towns in the name of the State, and proſtituted in the courts to the purpoſes of intereſt and vice, are employed to increaſe the pomp of a number of men, who flatter, deteſt, and corrupt their maſter; or paſs into ſtill baſer hands than theſe, to pay for the ſcandal and ſhame of his pleaſures. Theſe treaſures are laviſhed for a parade of grandeur, the vain decoration of thoſe who can have no real grandeur; and for feſtivals, the reſource of idleneſs, unable to exert itſelf, in the midſt of the cares and labours which the government of an empire would require. A portion of them, it is true, is given to the public wants: but theſe, from incapacity or inattention, are applied without judgment as without œconomy. Authority deceived, and diſdaining even to endeavour to be otherwiſe, admits of an unjuſt diſtribution of the tax, and of a mode of collecting it, which is itſelf an additional oppreſſion. Then every patriotic ſentiment becomes extinct. A war is excited between the prince and his ſubjects. Thoſe who levy the revenues of the ſtate, appear nothing but the enemies of the citizen. He defends his fortune from the impoſt, as he would defend it from incroachment. Every thing which cunning can take from power appears a lawful gain; and the ſubjects, corrupted by the government, make uſe of repriſals againſt a maſter who plunders them.

They

They do not perceive that, in this unequal conflict, they are themſelves both dupes and victims. The inſatiable and eager treaſury, leſs ſatisfied with what is given to them than irritated for what is refuſed, perſecutes every individual delinquent by a variety of means. They join activity to intereſt; and vexations are multiplied. They go under the denomination of puniſhment and juſtice; and the monſter, who reduces to poverty all thoſe whom he proſecutes, returns thanks to Heaven for the number of culprits whom he puniſhes, and for the multiplicity of offences by which he enriches himſelf. Happy is the ſovereign who, to prevent ſo many abuſes, would not diſdain to give his people an exact account of the manner in which all the ſums he had required of them were employed. But this ſovereign hath not yet appeared; nor indeed will he ever appear. Nevertheleſs, the debt due by the protected perſon to the State which protects him, is equally neceſſary and ſacred; and has been acknowleged by all people. The Engliſh colonies of North America had not diſavowed this obligation; and the Britiſh miniſtry had never applied to them without obtaining the aſſiſtance they ſolicited.

But theſe were gifts and not taxes, ſince the grant was preceded by free and public deliberations in the aſſemblies of each ſettlement. The mother-country had been engaged in expenſive and cruel wars. Tumultuous and enterpriſing parliaments had diſturbed it's tranquillity. It had had a ſet of bold and corrupt miniſters, unfortunately inclined to raiſe the authority of the

throne on the ruin of all the powers and all the rights of the people. Revolutions had ſucceeded each other, while the idea had never ſuggeſted itſelf, of attacking a cuſtom, confirmed by two centuries of fortunate experience. BOOK XVIII.

The provinces of the New World were accuſtomed to conſider as a right this mode of furniſhing their contingent in men and money. Whether this claim had been doubtful or erroneous, prudence would have required that it ſhould not have been too openly attacked. The art of maintaining authority is a delicate one, which requires more circumſpection than is generally thought. Thoſe who govern, are perhaps too much accuſtomed to deſpiſe men. They conſider them as ſlaves, bowed down by nature, whereas they are only ſo by habit. If they be oppreſſed with a freſh weight, take care leſt they ſhould riſe up again with fury. Let it not be forgotten, that the lever of power hath no other ſupport but that of opinion; and that the ſtrength of thoſe who govern, is really nothing more than the ſtrength of thoſe who ſuffer themſelves to be governed. Let not the people, who are diverted by their employments, or who ſleep in their chains, be inſtructed to pry into truths which are too formidable for government; and when they obey, let them not be made to recollect that they have the right to command. As ſoon as the inſtant of this terrible alarm ſhall arrive; as ſoon as they ſhall think that they are not made for their chiefs, but that their chiefs are made for them; as ſoon as they

they ſhall have been able to collect together, and to hear each other unanimouſly exclaim, *We will not have this law, the cuſtom is diſpleaſing to us*; there is then no alternative left, but either to ſubmit or to puniſh, to be weak or to be tyrants; and from that time the authority of government being deteſted or deſpiſed, whatever meaſures they may take, they will have nothing to expect from the people but open inſolence or concealed hatred.

The firſt duty of a prudent adminiſtration is therefore to reſpect the prevailing opinions of a country; for opinions are the kind of property to which the people are more attached than even to that of their fortune. It may indeed endeavour to rectify them by knowlege, or alter them by perſuaſion, if they ſhould be prejudicial to the ſtrength of the ſtate. But it is not allowable to contradict them without neceſſity; and there never was any to reject the ſyſtem adopted by North America.

In fact, whether the ſeveral countries of the New World were authorized, as they wiſhed to do, to ſend repreſentatives to parliament, in order to deliberate with their fellow-citizens on the exigences of the Britiſh empire; or whether they continued to examine within themſelves what contribution it was convenient for them to grant; the treaſury could not have experienced any embarraſſment from either of theſe modes. In the firſt inſtance, the remonſtrances of their deputies would have been loſt in the multitude, and the provinces would have been legally charged with part of the burden

intended for them to bear. In the ſecond, the miniſtry diſpoſing of the dignities, of the employments, of the penſions, and even of the elections, would not have experienced more oppoſition to their will in the other hemiſphere, than they do in this.

But the maxims which were holden ſacred in America, had ſome other foundation beſide prejudice. The people relied upon the nature of their charters; they relied ſtill more firmly upon the right which every Engliſh citizen hath, not to be taxed without his conſent, or that of his repreſentatives. This right, which ought to belong to all people, ſince it is founded on the eternal code of reaſon, was traced to it's origin as far back as the reign of Edward I. Since that period, the Engliſh never loſt ſight of it. In peace and in war, under the dominion of ferocious kings, as well as under that of weak monarchs, in times of ſlavery as in periods of anarchy, they never ceaſed to claim it. The Engliſh, under the Tudors, were ſeen to abandon their moſt valuable rights, and to deliver up their defenceleſs heads to the ſtroke of the tyrant, but they were never ſeen to renounce the right of taxing themſelves. It was in defence of this right that they ſhed torrents of blood, that they dethroned or puniſhed their kings. Finally, at the revolution of 1688, this right was ſolemnly acknowleged by the famous act, in which liberty, with the ſame hand that ſhe was expelling a deſpotic king, was drawing the conditions of the contract between the nation and the new ſovereign they had juſt choſen.

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choſen. This prerogative of the people, much more ſacred undoubtedly than ſo many imaginary rights which ſuperſtition hath endeavoured to ſanctify in tyrants, was at once in England the inſtrument and the bulwark of it's liberty. The nation thought and perceived that this was the only dike which could for ever put a ſtop to deſpotiſm; that the moment which deprives a people of this privilege condemns them to oppreſſion, and that the funds, raiſed apparently for their ſafety, are employed ſooner or later to ruin them. The Engliſh, when they founded their colonies, had carried theſe principles beyond the ſeas, and the ſame ideas were tranſmitted to their poſterity.

Alas! if in thoſe countries even of Europe, where ſlavery ſeems for a long time to have taken up it's reſidence in the midſt of vices, of riches, and of the arts; where the deſpotiſm of armies maintains the deſpotiſm of courts; where man, fettered from his cradle, and bound by the twofold bands of ſuperſtition and policy, hath never breathed the air of liberty; if, even in thoſe countries, perſons who have reflected once in their lives on the deſtiny of States, cannot avoid the adopting of theſe maxims, and envying the fortunate nation which hath contrived to make them the foundation and the baſis of it's conſtitution; how much more muſt the Engliſh, the children of America, be attached to them; they who have received this intelligence from their anceſtors, and who know at what price they have purchaſed it? Even the ſoil they inhabit muſt keep up

up in them a ſentiment favourable to theſe ideas. Diſperſed over an immenſe continent, free as nature, which ſurrounds them, amidſt the rocks, the mountains, the vaſt plains of their deſerts, and on the ſkirts of thoſe foreſts, where every thing is ſtill wild, and where nothing calls to mind neither the ſervitude nor the tyranny of man, they ſeem to receive from natural objects leſſons of liberty and independence. Beſides, theſe people, who are almoſt all of them devoted to agriculture, to commerce and to uſeful labours, which elevate and ſtrengthen the mind by giving ſimplicity to the manners, who have been hitherto as far removed from riches as from poverty, cannot yet be corrupted either by an exceſs of luxury or by a multiplicity of wants. It is this ſtate more eſpecially, that man who enjoys liberty can maintain it, and can ſhew himſelf jealous of defending an hereditary right which ſeems to be the ſure guarantee of all the other rights. Such was the reſolution of the Americans.

England exacts from her colonies what ſhe ought only to have aſked of them.

WHETHER the Britiſh miniſtry were yet unacquainted with theſe diſpoſitions, or whether they hoped that their delegates would ſucceed in altering them, they however embraced the opportunity of a glorious peace to exact a forced contribution from the colonies. For, let it be well obſerved, that a war, whether fortunate or unfortunate, ſerves always as a pretence to the uſurpations of government, as if the views of the chiefs of the belligerent Powers were leſs to conquer their enemies than to enſlave their ſubjects.

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The year 1764 gave birth to the famous ſtamp act, which forbad the admiſſion into the tribunals of any claim which had not been written upon paper ſtamped and ſold for the benefit of the treaſury.

The Engliſh provinces of the North of America were all incenſed at this uſurpation of their moſt valuable and moſt ſacred rights. By unanimous conſent they refuſed to conſume what was furniſhed them by the mother-country, till this illegal and oppreſſive bill was withdraw'n. The women, whoſe weakneſs might have been feared, were the moſt eager in ſacrificing what ſerved for their ornament, and the men, animated by this example, gave up on their parts other enjoyments. Many cultivators quitted the plough, in order to accuſtom themſelves to the work of manufactures; and the woollen, linen, and cotton, coarſely wrought, were bought up at the price that was previouſly given for the fineſt clothes and moſt beautiful ſtuffs.

This kind of combination ſurpriſed the government, and their anxiety was increaſed by the clamours of the merchants who found no market for their goods. Theſe diſcontents were ſupported by the enemies of the miniſtry, and the ſtamp act was repealed after two years of a commotion, which in other times would have kindled a civil war.

But the triumph of the colonies was of ſhort duration. The parliament, which had retracted only with extreme reluctance, ordained in 1767, that the revenue which they had not been able to obtain

obtain by means of the ſtamp, ſhould be collected by the glaſs, the lead, the paſte-board, the colours, the figured paper, and the tea, which were conveyed from England to America. The people of the northern continent were not leſs incenſed with this innovation than with the former. In vain was it repreſented to them, that no one could conteſt with Great Britain the power of ſettling upon her exports ſuch duties as were ſuitable to her intereſts; ſince ſhe did not deprive her eſtabliſhments beyond the ſeas of the liberty of manufacturing themſelves the commodities which were ſubjected to the new taxes. This ſubterfuge appeared a mark of deriſion to men, who, being merely cultivators, and compelled to have no communication except with the mother-country, could neither procure for themſelves by their own induſtry, nor by foreign connections, the articles that were taxed. Whether the tribute were paid in the Old or in the New World, they underſtood that the name made no alteration in the thing, and that their liberty would be no leſs attacked in this manner than it had been in the former, which had been repulſed with ſucceſs. The coloniſts ſaw clearly that the government meant to deceive them, and they would not be impoſed upon. Theſe political ſophiſms appeared to them as they really are, the maſk of tyranny.

Nations in general are more adapted to feel than to think. Moſt of them have never thought of analyzing the nature of the power which governs them. They obey without reflection, and

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becauſe they are in the habit of obeying. The origin and object of the firſt national aſſociations being unknow'n to them, every reſiſtance to their will appears to them a crime. It is chiefly in thoſe ſtates where the principles of legiſlation are blended with thoſe of religion, that this error was common. The habit of believing is favourable to the habit of ſuffering. Man doth not renounce with impunity one ſingle object. It ſeems as if nature avenged herſelf of him who ventures thus to degrade her. This ſervile diſpoſition of the ſoul extends to every thing; it makes a duty of reſignation as of meanneſs, and reſpecting every chain that binds it, trembles to enter into an examination of the laws as well as of the tenets. In the ſame manner as one ſingle extravagance in religious opinions, is ſufficient to induce minds that are once deceived to adopt numberleſs others, ſo the firſt uſurpation of government opens the door to all the reſt. He who believes the moſt believes alſo the leaſt, and he who can exert the moſt power can exert alſo the leaſt. It is by this double abuſe of credulity and of authority, that all the abſurdities in matters of religion and politics have been introduced in the world to cruſh mankind. Accordingly, the firſt ſignal of liberty among the nations hath excited them to ſhake off theſe two yokes at once, and the period in which the human mind began to diſcuſs the abuſes of the church and of the clergy, is that when reaſon became at length ſenſible of the rights of the people, and when courage endeavoured to fix the firſt limits to deſpotiſm. The principles of to-

leration and of liberty eſtabliſhed in the Engliſh colonies, had made them a people very different from others. There it was know'n what the dignity of man was, and when it was violated by the Britiſh miniſtry, it neceſſarily followed, that a people, compoſed enirely of citizens, ſhould riſe againſt this attempt.

THREE years elapſed, and none of the taxes which had ſo much offended the Americans were yet levied. This was ſomething, but it was not all that was expected from men jealous of their prerogatives. They wanted a general and formal renunciation of what had been illegally ordained, and this ſatisfaction was granted to them in 1770. The tea only was excepted. The intent indeed of this reſerve, was merely to palliate the diſgrace of giving up entirely the ſuperiority of the mother-country over it's colonies, for this duty was not more exacted than the others had been.

England after having given way, wiſhes to be obeyed by it's colonies. Meaſures which they take to reſiſt it's authority.

THE miniſtry, deceived by their delegates, certainly imagined that the diſpoſitions of the people were altered in the New World, when in 1773 they ordered the tax on the tea to be levied.

AT this news the indignation became general throughout North America. In ſome provinces, thanks were decreed to thoſe navigators who had refuſed to take any of this article on board. In others, the merchants to whom it was addreſſed refuſed to receive it. In one place, whoever ſold it was declared an enemy to his country. In another, the ſame mark of ignominy was beſtowed upon thoſe who ſhould keep it in their warehouſes. Several diſtricts ſolemnly renounced the

uſe of this liquor, and a greater number of them burnt all the tea they had remaining, which had hitherto been in ſuch high eſtimation among them. The tea ſent to this part of the globe was valued at five or ſix millions of livres*, and not a ſingle cheſt of it was landed. Boſton was the chief ſcene of this inſurrection. It's inhabitants deſtroyed in the harbour three cargoes of tea, which had arrived from Europe.

This great city had always appeared more attentive to their rights than the reſt of America. The leaſt attempt againſt their privileges was repulſed without diſcretion. This reſiſtance ſometimes accompanied with troubles, had for ſome years paſt diſturbed the government. The miniſtry, who had ſome motives of revenge to gratify, too haſtily ſeized upon the circumſtance of this blameable exceſs, and demanded of the parliament a ſevere puniſhment.

Moderate people wiſhed that the guilty city ſhould be condemned to furniſh an indemnity proportioned to the damage done in it's harbour, and which it deſerved for not having puniſhed this act of violence. This penalty was judged too ſlight, and on the 13th of March 1774, a bill was paſſed which ſhut up the port of Boſton, and which forbad that any thing ſhould be carried there.

The court of London congratulated itſelf upon this rigorous law, and doubted not but that it would bring the Boſtonians to that ſpirit of ſervi-

* From 208,333 l. 6s. 8 d. to 250,000 l.

tude

tude with which it had been hitherto attempted in vain to inſpire them. If contrary to every appearance, theſe bold men ſhould perſevere in their pretenſions, their neighbours would eagerly avail themſelves of the prohibition throw'n upon the principal port of the colonies. At the worſt, the other colonies which had been for a long time jealous of that of Maſſachuſet's Bay, would abandon it with indifference to it's melancholy fate, and would collect the immenſe trade which theſe misfortunes would cauſe to flow in upon them. In this manner the union of the ſeveral ſettlements, which, in the opinion of the mother-country, had for ſome years paſt acquired too much conſiſtence, would be broken.

The expectations of the miniſtry were in general fruſtrated; an act of rigour ſometimes ſtrikes awe. The people who have murmured while the ſtorm was only preparing at a diſtance, ſubmit when it comes to fall upon them. It is then that they weigh the advantages and diſadvantages of reſiſtance, that they meaſure their ſtrength with that of their oppreſſors; it is then that a panic terror ſeizes thoſe which have every thing to loſe and nothing to gain; that they raiſe their voices, that they intimidate, and that they bribe; that diviſion is excited in the minds of men, and that ſociety is divided between two factions which irritate each other, which ſometimes take up arms and ſlay each other in the view of their tyrants, who behold with complacency and ſatisfaction the effuſion of their blood. But tyrants ſcarcely find any accomplices unleſs among people already

corrupt. It is vice which gives them confederates among thoſe whom they oppreſs. It is effeminacy which takes the alarm, and cannot venture to exchange it's tranquillity for honourable dangers. It is the vile ambition of commanding which lends it's aſſiſtance to deſpotiſm, and conſents to be a ſlave for the ſake of acquiring dominion, to give up a people in order to divide their ſpoils, and to renounce the ſenſe of honour in order to obtain honours and titles. It is eſpecially that indifferent and cold perſonality, the laſt of the crimes of the people, the laſt of the vices of governments, for it is government which always gives riſe to them; it is government which, from principle, ſacrifices a nation to a man, and the happineſs of a century and of poſterity to the enjoyment of a day and of a moment. All theſe vices, which are the fruits of an opulent and voluptuous ſociety, of a ſociety grow'n old and come to it's laſt period, do not belong to recent people engaged in the toils of agriculture. The Americans remained united among themſelves. The carrying into execution a bill which they called inhuman, barbarous, and deſtructive, ſerved only to confirm them in the reſolution of ſupporting their rights with more unanimity and ſteadineſs.

THE minds of men grew more and more exalted at Boſton. The cry of liberty was reinforced by that of religion. The churches reſounded with the moſt violent exhortations againſt England. It was undoubtedly an intereſting ſpectacle for philoſophy, to ſee that in the temples

ples and at the feet of the altars, where ſuperſtition had ſo often bleſſed the change of the people, where the prieſts had ſo often flattered the tyrants, that liberty ſhould raiſe it's voice to defend the privileges of an oppreſſed nation; and if we believe that the deity condeſcends to caſt an eye upon the unfortunate conteſts of mankind, it preferred certainly to ſee it's ſanctuary conſecrated to this uſe, and to hear hymns to liberty become part of the worſhip, addreſſed to it by it's miniſters. Theſe diſcourſes muſt have produced a great effect; and when a free people invokes the aid of heaven againſt oppreſſion, they ſoon have recourſe to arms.

The other inhabitants of Maſſachuſet's Bay diſdained even the idea of taking the leaſt advantage of the diſaſters of the capital. They thought of nothing but tightening the bands which connected them with the Boſtonians, and were inclined to bury themſelves under the ruins of their common country, rather than ſuffer the leaſt incroachment upon rights which they had learned to cheriſh more than life.

All the provinces attached themſelves to the cauſe of Boſton, and their attachment increaſed in proportion to the calamities and ſufferings of that unfortunate city. Being almoſt guilty of the ſame reſiſtance which had been ſo ſeverely puniſhed, they were ſenſible that the vengeance of the mother-country againſt them was only delayed, and that all the grace which the moſt favoured of them can poſſibly expect, will be to be the laſt object of it's revenge.

THESE diſpoſitions to a general inſurrection were increaſed by the act againſt Boſton, which was circulated throughout the continent upon paper edged with black, as an emblem of the mourning of liberty. Anxiety ſoon communicates from one houſe to another. The citizens aſſemble, and converſe, in the places. All the preſſes teem with writings full of eloquence and vigour.

"THE ſeverities of the Britiſh parliament "againſt Boſton ought to make all the Ame- "rican provinces tremble. They have now only "to chooſe between fire and the ſword, between "the horrors of death and the yoke of a ſervile "and baſe obedience. The period of an im- "portant revolution is at length arrived, the for- "tunate or unfortunate ſucceſs of which will for "ever determine the regret or admiration of "poſterity.

"SHALL we be free, or ſhall we be ſlaves? It "upon the ſolution of this great problem, that "the deſtiny of three millions of men will de- "pend for the preſent and for the future, the "happineſs or miſery of their numberleſs de- "ſcendants.

"ROUZE yourſelves up, therefore, O you Ame- "ricans! for the regions you inhabit were never "covered with ſuch dreadful clouds; you are "called rebels, becauſe you will be taxed only by "your repreſentatives. Juſtify this claim by "your courage, or ſeal the loſs of it with your "blood.

"IT

"IT is no longer time to deliberate, when the "hand of the oppreſſor is inceſſantly at work in "forging chains for you; ſilence would be a "crime, and inaction infamy. The preſervation "of the rights of the republic, that is the ſu-"preme law. He would be the loweſt of ſlaves, "who, in the danger which now threatens the "liberty of America, would not exert his utmoſt "efforts to preſerve it."

SUCH was the general diſpoſition: but the moſt important object, and the moſt difficult matter to effect in the midſt of the general tumult, was to bring about a calm, by means of which a harmony of inclinations might be produced, which might give dignity, ſtrength, and conſiſtence to the reſoluitons. It is this kind of harmony, which, from a number of looſe and ſcattered parts, all of them eaſily broken, compoſes one complete whole, which it is impoſſible to ſubdue, unleſs one can ſucceed in dividing it either by ſtrength or by policy. The neceſſity of this great union was perceived by the provinces of New Hampſhire, of Maſſachuſet's Bay, of Rhode Iſland, of Connecticut, of New York, of New Jerſey, of the three counties of the Delaware, of Pennſylvania, of Maryland, of Virginia, and of the two Carolinas. Theſe twelve colonies, to which Georgia hath ſince acceded, ſent deputies to Philadelphia in the month of September 1774, who were appointed to defend their rights and their intereſts.

THE diſputes between the mother-country and it's colonies acquired at this period a degree of importance

importance which they had not had before. It was no more a few individuals who oppoſed a ſtubborn reſiſtance to imperious maſters. It was the ſtruggle between one body of men and another, between the congreſs of America and the parliament of England, between one nation and another. The reſolutions taken on each ſide inflamed the minds of men ſtill more and more, and increaſed the animoſity. Every hope of reconciliation was diſſipated. The ſword was draw'n on both ſides; Great Britain ſent troops into the New World, and this other hemiſphere prepared for it's defence. It's citizens became ſoldiers. The materials for the conflagration are collected, and the fire will ſoon break out.

General Gage, who commanded the royal troops, ſent a detachment from Boſton on the night of the 18th of Auguſt 1775, with orders to deſtroy a magazine of arms and proviſions collected by the Americans at Concord. This detachment met with ſome militia at Lexington, whom they diſperſed without much difficulty, continued their march with rapidity, and executed the orders they had received. But they had ſcarcely reſumed the road to the capital, before they were aſſailed in a ſpace of fifteen miles by a furious multitude whom they deſtroyed, and by whom they were alſo ſlain. The blood of Engliſhmen, ſo often ſpilt in England by the hands of Engliſhmen, was now ſpilt in America, and the civil war was begun.

More regular engagements were fought upon the ſame field of battle in the enſuing months.

Warren

Warren was the victim of these destructive and unnatural actions. The congress did honour to his remains.

"He is not dead, said the orator; this excellent citizen shall not die. His memory will be eternally present, eternally dear to all good men, to all lovers of their country. He hath displayed, in the limited career of a life of thirty-three years, the talents of a statesman, the virtues of a senator, and the soul of a hero.

"All you who are animated with the same interest, approach the bloody corse of Warren. Bathe his honourable wounds with your tears; but do not remain too long over this inanimate body. Return to your habitations, to inspire a detestation of the crime of tyranny. Let the hair of your children start upon their heads at this horrible representation, let their eyes sparkle, let their brows become threatening, and let their voices express their indignation; then you will give them arms, and your last wish will be, that they may either return conquerors, or perish like Warren."

The troubles with which Massachuset's Bay was agitated, were extended to the other provinces. The transactions were not indeed bloody in them, because there were no British troops; but in all parts the Americans seized upon the forts, the arms, and the provisions; they expelled their chiefs and the other agents of government, and ill-treated the inhabitants who appeared to favour the cause of the mother-country. Some enterprizing men carried their boldness so far as to seize

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ſeize upon the works formerly erected by the French near Lake Champlain, between New England and Canada, and even made an irruption into that vaſt region.

WHILE private individuals, or ſeparate diſtricts, were ſo uſefully ſerving the common cauſe, the congreſs was employed in the care of aſſembling an army, the command of which was given to George Waſhington, a native of Virginia, and know'n by a few ſucceſsful actions in the preceding wars. The new general immediately flew to Maſſachuſets Bay, drove the royal troops from one poſt to another, and compelled them to ſhut themſelves up in Boſton. Six thouſand of his old ſoldiers, who had eſcaped the ſword, ſickneſs, and every other kind of diſtreſs, preſſed either by hunger or by the enemy, embarked on the 24th of March 1776, with a precipitation which had all the appearance of flight. They went to ſeek an aſylum in Nova Scotia, which, as well as Florida, had remained faithful to it's former maſters.

The colonies had a right to ſeparate themſelves from their mother-country, even if they had had no cauſe of diſcontent.

THIS ſucceſs was the firſt ſtep of Engliſh America towards the revolution. It began to be openly wiſhed for, and the principles which juſtified it were univerſally diffuſed. Theſe principles, which originated in Europe, and particularly in England, had been tranſplanted by philoſophy into America. The knowlege of the mother-country was turned againſt itſelf, and it was ſaid:

ONE muſt be very careful not to confound ſocieties and government with each other. Let us inveſtigate their origin in order to diſtinguiſh them.

MAN,

MAN, throw'n upon the globe as it were by chance, ſurrounded with all the evils of nature, obliged to defend and protect his life againſt the ſtorms and hurricanes of the air, againſt the inundations of the waters, againſt the fires and the conflagrations of volcanos, againſt the intemperature of the zones, either torrid or frozen, againſt the barrenneſs of the earth, which refuſes to yield him any ſubſiſtence, or againſt it's unfortunate fertility, which produces poiſons under his feet, againſt the teeth of ferocious animals, who diſpute with him his abode and his prey, and, by combating him themſelves, ſeem to intend to acquire the dominion of the globe, of which he thinks himſelf the maſter: man, in this ſtate alone, and abandoned to himſelf, could do nothing for his own preſervation. It was therefore neceſſary, that he ſhould unite and aſſociate with his fellow-creatures, in order to make a common ſtock of their ſtrength and underſtanding. It is by this union that he hath been able to triumph over ſo many evils, that he hath faſhioned the globe to his own uſe, kept the rivers within their boundaries, ſubdued the ſeas, inſured his ſubſiſtence, conquered one part of the animals by compelling them to ſerve him, and driven away the reſt to a diſtance from his empire, in the midſt of deſerts or of foreſts, where their numbers diminiſh from one century to another. Men, united among themſelves, have carried into execution what one man alone could never have accompliſhed, and they all together concur in

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preſerving their work. Such is the origin, ſuch are the advantages and the end of ſociety.

GOVERNMENT owes it's riſe to the neceſſity of preventing, and of repelling, the injuries which the aſſociates had to fear from each other. It is the centinel who watches to prevent the common labours from being diſturbed.

SOCIETY hath therefore ariſen from the neceſſities of mankind, and government owes it's origin to their vices. Society always tends to good; government ought always to tend towards repreſſing evil. Society is the firſt, and in it's origin independent and free; government hath been inſtituted for it and is only it's inſtrument. The former has the right of commanding, the latter muſt obey. Society hath created public ſtrength, and government, which hath received it from it's hands, ought to conſecrate it entirely to it's uſe. In a word, ſociety is eſſentially good; government, as it is well know'n, may be, and is but too often bad.

IT hath been ſaid, that we were all born equals; but that is not true. That we had all the ſame rights. I do not know what rights are, where there is an inequality of talents and of ſtrength, and no guarantee nor ſanction. That Nature hath offered to us all the ſame habitation and the ſame reſources; that is not true. That we were indiſcriminately endowed with the ſame means of defence; that is not true: nor do I know in what ſenſe it can be true that we enjoy the ſame qualities of body and of mind.

THERE

THERE is an original inequality between men which nothing can remedy. It muſt laſt for ever; and all that can be obtained from the beſt legiſlation will not be to deſtroy it, but to prevent it's abuſes.

BUT hath not Nature herſelf produced the ſeeds of tyranny, by dealing with her children like a ſtepmother, and by creating ſome children weak, and others ſtrong? It is ſcarce poſſible to deny this, eſpecially if we go back to a period previous to all legiſlation, when we ſhall ſee men as paſſionate and as unreaſonable as brutes.

WHAT views then can the founders of nations, and the legiſlators, have had? To obviate all the diſaſters of this deteſted principle, by a kind of artificial equality, which ſhould ſubject the members of a ſociety, without exception, to one ſingle impartial authority. It is a ſword which is indiſcriminately ſuſpended over every head; but this ſword was only ideal. It was neceſſary that ſome hand, ſome natural being, ſhould hold it.

THE reſult of this hath been, that the hiſtory of civilized man is nothing more than the hiſtory of his miſery. All the pages of it are ſtained with blood, ſome with that of the oppreſſors, the reſt with that of the oppreſſed.

IN this point of view, man appears more wicked, and more unfortunate than animals. The different ſpecies of animals ſubſiſt at the expence of each other; but the ſocieties of men have never ceaſed to attack each other. There is no condition in the ſame ſociety, which doth not either devour, or hath not itſelf devoured, what-

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ever may have been, or whatever may be the form of government, or of artificial equality, which hath been oppoſed to the primitive or natural inequality.

But theſe forms of government, freely choſen by our forefathers, whatever ſanction they may have received, either from oath, or from unanimous conſent, or from permanency, are they to be conſidered as binding to their deſcendants? Certainly not: and it is impoſſible that you, Engliſhmen, who have ſucceſſively undergone ſo many different revolutions in your political conſtitution; who have been driven from monarchy to tyranny, from tyranny to ariſtocracy, from ariſtocracy to democracy, and from democracy to anarchy, it is impoſſible, I ſay, that you can think differently from me, without accuſing yourſelves of rebellion and perjury.

We examine things as philoſophers; and it is well know'n that our ſpeculations have not occaſioned civil wars. No ſubjects are more patient than we are. I ſhall therefore purſue my object, without any apprehenſion for the conſequences. If people be happy under their form of government, they will maintain it. If they be wretched, it will be neither your opinion nor mine, but the impoſſibility of ſuffering any more, or for any longer time, which will determine them to change. A ſalutary commotion, which the oppreſſor will call revolt, though it be no more than the legal exerciſe of an unalienable and natural right of the man who is oppreſſed, and even of him who is not oppreſſed.

Man

MAN has a will, and a choice of his own; but he can neither have a will nor a choice for another; and it would be an extravagance to exerciſe his will and his choice for him who is not yet born, for him who will not exiſt for many centuries after. There is no individual who hath not a right to ſeek elſewhere a better form of government, if he be diſſatisfied with that of his own country. There is no ſociety which hath not the ſame liberty of altering it's own form of government, as it's anceſtors had to adopt it. Upon this point, ſocieties are in the ſame ſtate as in the firſt inſtant of their civilization. It would be a great evil if it were not ſo; and indeed in that caſe, there could be no remedy againſt the greateſt of all evils. Millions of men muſt have been condemned to endleſs misfortune. It will therefore be admitted in conformity to my principles:

THAT there is no form of government, the prerogative of which is to be immutable.

THAT there is no political authority, created either yeſterday or a thouſand years ago, which cannot be abrogated, either ten years hence, or to-morrow.

WHOEVER thinks otherwiſe is a ſlave; he is the idolater of the works of his own hands.

WHOEVER thinks otherwiſe is a madman, who devotes himſelf, as well as his family, his children, and his children's children, to everlaſting miſery, by granting to his anceſtors the right of ſtipulating for him when he was not in being, and by arrogating to himſelf the right of ſtipu-

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lating for his deſcendants, who are not yet in being.

All authority in this world hath begun either by the conſent of the ſubjects, or by the ſtrength of the maſter. It may be legally put a ſtop to in either of the caſes. There is nothing which favours tyranny againſt liberty.

The truth of theſe principles is the more eſſential, as every power tends, by it's nature to deſpotiſm, even in that nation which is the moſt jealous of it's rights, even in England.

I have hear'd a Whig ſay, that as long as a bad ſovereign, or at leaſt a bad miniſter, could not be ſent to Tyburn with as little formality, parade, tumult, and ſurprize, as the moſt obſcure malefactor, the nation would never either have a proper idea, nor the full enjoyment of it's rights, in a manner ſuitable to a people who venture to think, and to call themſelves a free people. This man was perhaps a fanatic; but madmen ſometimes utter words of profound ſenſe. Nevertheleſs, an adminiſtration which you yourſelves own to be ignorant, corrupt, and audacious, ſhall imperiouſly precipitate you with impunity into the deepeſt abyſs of misfortune.

The quantity of ſpecie circulating among you is not very conſiderable. You are overburdened with paper-currency, under every denomination. All the gold of Europe, heaped up in your treaſury, would be ſcarce ſufficient to pay off your national debt. It is not know'n by what kind of incredible illuſion this fictitious coin is kept up. The moſt trifling event may in a moment bring it into diſcredit.

credit. One ſingle alarm is ſufficient to induce a ſudden bankruptcy. The dreadful conſequences of this breach of faith are beyond our imagination. And this is the moment which hath been choſen to make you declare againſt your colonies; that is to ſay, to involve yourſelves in an unjuſt, ſenſeleſs, and ruinous war. What will become of you, when one important branch of your commerce ſhall be annihilated; when you ſhall have loſt one third of your poſſeſſions; when you ſhall have maſſacred one or two millions of your fellow-citizens; when your ſtrength ſhall be exhauſted, your merchants ruined, your manufacturers reduced to periſh for want; when your debt ſhall be increaſed, and your revenue diminiſhed? Beware! the blood of the Americans will ſooner or later fall upon your own heads. It's effuſion will be revenged by your own hands; and the moment is at hand.

But, you ſay, *they are rebels.* - - - - Why are they ſo? Becauſe they will not be your ſlaves? A people who are ſubject to the will of another, who can diſpoſe at pleaſure of their government, of their laws, and of their commerce, who can tax them according to their own fancy, limit their induſtry, and fetter it by arbitrary prohibitions, are ſlaves, and their ſervitude is worſe than that which they would experience under a tyrant; becauſe a tyrant may be got rid of, either by expulſion or by aſſaſſination. Both theſe acts have been done by you. But a nation can neither be put to death nor expelled. Liberty can be expected only from a rupture, the conſequence

of which muſt be the ruin of one or the other of the nations, and ſometimes of both. A tyrant is a monſter with only one head, which may be ſtricken off at a blow. A deſpotic nation is a hydra with a thouſand heads, which can only be ſmitten off by a thouſand ſwords at once. The crime of the oppreſſion exerciſed by a tyrant, excites univerſal indignation againſt himſelf alone. The ſame crime, committed by a numerous ſociety, ſpreads the horror and the ſhame of it amongſt a multitude, which is never aſhamed. It is the crime of every body, and of no body; and the ſentiment of miſguided deſpair knows not upon what object to fix it's reſentment.

But they are our ſubjects. - - - - Your ſubjects! not more than the inhabitants of the province of Wales are the ſubjects of the county of Lancaſter. The authority of one nation over another can only be founded upon conqueſt, upon general conſent, or upon propoſed and accepted conditions. Conqueſt is no more binding than robbery. The conſent of anceſtors cannot compel deſcendants; and no conditions can be conſiſtent with the ſacrifice of liberty. Liberty cannot be bartered for any thing, becauſe no equivalent can be given for it. This is the ſpeech you have made to your tyrants, and we now addreſs it to you in favour of your coloniſts.

The land which they occupy is our's. - - - - Your's! It is thus you call it, becauſe you have invaded it. But ſuppoſing it be ſo, doth not the charter of conceſſion oblige you to treat the Americans as your countrymen? and do you comply with this?

this obligation? But to what purpoſe are conceſſions and charters, which grant what one is not maſter of, and which, conſequently, one hath no right of granting, to a ſmall number of feeble men, compelled by circumſtances to receive as a gratuity what they have a natural right to. Beſides, have the deſcendants, who are now alive, been invited to accede to a compact, ſigned by their anceſtors? The truth of this principle muſt be acknowleged, or the deſcendants of James muſt be recalled. What right was there to drive him away, which we had not equally to ſeparate from you? ſay the Americans. And what anſwer can be made to them?

They are ungrateful; we are their founders; we have been their defenders; we have indebted ourſelves for them. - - - - For yourſelves, you may ſay, as much, or more than for them. If you have defended them, it is in the ſame manner as you would have defended the Sultan of Conſtantinople, if your ambition or your intereſt had required it. But have they not repaid this obligation, by delivering to you their productions, by excluſively receiving your merchandize, at the exorbitant price you have choſen to put upon it; by ſubmitting to the prohibitions, which thwarted their induſtry, and to the reſtrictions with which you have oppreſſed their property? Have they not aſſiſted you, and indebted themſelves for you? Have they not taken up arms, and fought for you? Have they not acceded to your demands, when you have made them in a manner ſuitable to freemen? When have they

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ever refuſed you any thing, unleſs when preſenting your bayonets to their breaſts, you have ſaid to them, *Your treaſure, or your life; die, or be our ſlaves.* What! becauſe you have been beneficent, have you the right to become oppreſſors! Will the nations, alſo, convert their expectations of gratitude into a barbarous pretence to diſgrace and inſult thoſe who have had the misfortune to receive their benefits? Individuals, perhaps, though it be not their duty, may in their benefactors bear with their tyrants. In them, undoubtedly, it is great, it is magnanimous, to conſent to be unhappy, rather than be ungrateful. But the ſyſtem of morality among nations is different. The public felicity is the firſt law, as it is the firſt duty. The primary obligation of theſe great bodies is towards themſelves. They owe, above all things, liberty and juſtice to thoſe who compoſe them. Every child who is born in a ſtate, every citizen who comes to breathe the air of a country which he hath choſen for himſelf, or which nature hath given him, has a right to the greateſt degree of happineſs he can poſſibly enjoy. Every obligation which cannot be reconciled with that principle is void. Every contrary claim is an incroachment upon his rights. Of what concern is it to him, if his anceſtors have been favoured, when he himſelf is deſtined to be the victim? By what right can we exact the payment of this uſurious debt of benefits, which he hath not even experienced? No. To arrogate to one's ſelf a ſimilar claim, againſt a whole nation and it's poſterity,

rity, is to ſubvert all the ideas of order and policy; it is to betray all the laws of morality, while we invoke their countenance. What hath not England done for Hanover! But is Hanover ſubject to your command? All the republics of Greece were connected with each other by mutual ſervices: Did any one of them exact, as a token of gratitude, the right of diſpoſing of the adminiſtration of the republic that had received the obligation?

But our honour is compromiſed. - - - - Say rather, the honour of your bad miniſters, and not your own. In what conſiſts the real honour of him who is in an error? Is it to perſiſt in it, or to acknowlege it? The man who returns to ſentiments of juſtice hath no occaſion to be aſhamed. Engliſhmen, you have been too precipitate. Why did you not wait till riches had corrupted the Americans, as you are corrupted? Then they would have been as little concerned for their liberty, as you for your's. Then, ſubdued by wealth, your arms would have been uſeleſs. But you have attacked them in an inſtant, when what they had to loſe, liberty, could not be balanced by what they had to preſerve.

But in later times they would have become ſtill more numerous. - - - - I acknowlege it. You have therefore only attempted the enſlaving of a people, whom time would have ſet free in ſpite of you. In twenty or thirty years, the remembrance of your atrocious deeds will be recent; and the fruit of them will be taken away from you: then, nothing but ſhame and remorſe will remain to you.

There

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There is a decree of nature which you cannot change; it is, that great bodies always give law to ſmaller ones. But if the Americans ſhould then undertake againſt Great Britain what you have undertaken againſt them, would you not ſay to them exactly what they ſay to you at this inſtant. Wherefore ſhould motives which affect you but little, coming from them, appear more ſolid when coming from you?

They will neither obey our parliament, nor adopt our conſtitution. - - - - Have they made, or can they change them?

We obey them without having had, either in paſt times, or without having at preſent, any influence over them. - - - - That is to ſay, that you are ſlaves, and that you cannot ſuffer freemen. Nevertheleſs, do not confound the poſition of the Americans with your's. You have repreſentatives, and they have none; you have voices which ſpeak for you, and no one ſtipulates for them. If the voices be bought and ſold, this is an excellent reaſon for them to diſclaim this advantage.

They would be independent of us. - - - - Are not you ſo of them?

They will never be able to ſupport themſelves without us. - - - - If that be the caſe, keep quiet; neceſſity will bring them back to you.

But what if we could not ſubſiſt without them? - - - This would be a great misfortune: but to cut their throats, in order to prevent it, is a ſingular expedient.

It is for their intereſt, it is for their good, that we are angry with them, as we are with children who behave

behave improperly. - - - - Their intereſt and their good! Who hath appointed you the judges of theſe two points which touch them ſo nearly, and which they ought to know better than you? If it ſhould happen that a citizen ſhould enter by force into the houſe of another, upon a pretence that he was a man of great underſtanding, and that no one was more capable of maintaining good order and peace at his neighbour's houſe; would not his neighbour have a right to deſire him to withdraw, and concern himſelf about his own affairs? But what ſhall we ſay if the affairs of this officious hypocrite were much in diſorder. If he were nothing more than an ambitious man, who under pretence of governing wanted to uſurp; if under the maſk of benevolence he concealed only views full of injuſtice, ſuch for inſtance, as the endeavour to relieve his own difficulties at the expence of his fellow-citizens?

We are the mother-country.—What, are the moſt ſacred names always to ſerve as veils to ambition and to intereſt? If you be the mother-country fulfil the duties of it. Moreover, the colony is formed of different nations, among whom ſome will grant and others will refuſe you this title. While all of them will ſay to you at once; there is a time when the authority of parents over their children is to ceaſe, and this time is that when children can provide for themſelves. What term have you fixed for our emancipation? Be honeſt, and confeſs you flattered yourſelves that you ſhould have kept us under perpetual tutelage. This tutelage however might be ſupportable,

portable, if it were not changed for us into an unbearable conſtraint; if our advantage were not inceſſantly ſacrificed to your's; if we were not obliged to ſuffer a multitude of oppreſſions in detail from the governors, the judges, the financiers, and the military men whom you ſend to us; if moſt of them at their arrival in our climates did not bring with them degraded characters, ruined fortunes, rapacious hands, and the inſolence of ſubaltern tyrants, who, tired with obeying the laws in their own country, come to indemnify themſelves in a New World, by exerciſing there a power which is too frequently arbitrary. You are the mother-country, but far from encouraging our progreſs you ſtand in awe of it. You confine our induſtry and you counteract our riſing ſtrength. Nature, in favouring us, diſappoints your ſecret wiſhes; or rather, it is your deſire that ſhe ſhould remain in a ſtate of eternal infancy, with reſpect to every thing that may be uſeful to us; and notwithſtanding this, that we ſhould ſtill be robuſt ſlaves to ſerve you, and inceſſantly to ſupply your avidity with new ſources of wealth. Is this being a mother? Is this being our country? Alas! in the foreſts that ſurround us, Nature hath beſtowed a milder inſtinct on the wild beaſt, who, when ſhe is become a mother, doth not at leaſt devour thoſe to whom ſhe hath given birth.

If we agreed to all their pretenſions they would ſoon be happier than we are.—And why not? If you be corrupted why ſhould they be ſo? If you incline to ſlavery, muſt they alſo imitate your example?

ample? If you were their maſter, why ſhould you not confer the property of another power to your ſovereign? Why ſhould you not make him your deſpot, as you have declared him by a ſolemn act the deſpot of Canada? Muſt they then have ratified this extravagant conceſſion? and if they had ratified it, muſt they have obeyed the ſovereign you would have given them? and muſt they have taken up arms againſt you in obedience to his orders? The king of England hath a negative power. No law can be enacted there without his conſent. This power, the inconvenience of which you daily experience, why ſhould the Americans grant it to him among themſelves? Would it be to deprive him of it one day by taking up arms, as it will happen to you if your government ſhould be improved? What advantage can you find in ſubjecting them to a vicious conſtitution?

Vicious or not, this conſtitution is our's, and it muſt be generally acknowleged and accepted by all who bear the Engliſh name; otherwiſe, each of our provinces governing itſelf in it's own way, having it's own laws, and pretending to independence, we ſhould ceaſe to form a national body, and ſhould be nothing more than a collection of ſmall inſulated republics divided, inceſſantly at war with each other, and eaſily invaded by a common enemy. The ſagacious and powerful Philip, *capable of undertaking this enterprize, is near us.*

SUPPOSING him to be near you, he is at a diſtance from the Americans. A privilege which may be attended with ſome inconvenience to you,

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you, is not the leſs a privilege. But, ſeparated as they are from Great Britain, by immenſe ſeas, of what concern is it to you whether your colonies accept or reject your conſtitutions? What has this to do either for or againſt your ſtrength, or for or againſt your ſecurity? That unity, of which you exaggerate the advantages, is alſo nothing more than a vain pretence. You urge your laws to them when they are oppreſſed by them, and you trample upon them yourſelves when they appeal to them in their favour. You tax yourſelves, and you want to tax them. When the leaſt incroachment is attempted upon this privilege, you exclaim with rage, you take up arms, and you are ready to devote yourſelves to death, and yet you put the poniard to the throat of your fellow citizen to compel him to renounce it. Your ports are open to all nations, and you ſhut up thoſe of the coloniſts from them. Your merchandiſe is conveyed to all parts where you chooſe to ſend it, and their's is forced to be ſent to you. You manufacture, and you will not ſuffer them to do the ſame. They have hides and they have iron, and you compel them to deliver theſe hides and this iron to you in the rough ſtate. What you get at a low price, they muſt purchaſe from you at the price which your rapaciouſneſs exacted. You ſacrifice them to your merchants; and becauſe your Eaſt India Company was in danger, it was neceſſary that their loſſes ſhould be repaired by the Americans. And yet you call them your fellow-citizens, and it is thus you invite them to accept your conſtitution.

This unity, this league, which ſeems ſo neceſſary to you, is nothing more than the league of the fooliſh animals in the fable, among which you have reſerved to yourſelf the part of the lion.

PERHAPS you have only ſuffered yourſelves to be induced to fill the New World with blood and ravages, merely from a falſe point of honour. We like to perſuade ourſelves, that ſo many enormities have not been the conſequence of a project coolly concerted. You have been told, that the Americans were nothing more than a baſe herd of cowards, whom the leaſt threat would induce with fear and conſternation to comply with every thing you choſe to exact. Inſtead of thoſe puſillanimous men, who had been deſcribed to you, and whom you had been taught to expect, you met with brave people, true Engliſhmen, and fellow-citizens worthy of you. Was this a reaſon for increaſing your anger? What! have your anceſtors admired the Dutch ſhaking off the Spaniſh yoke; and ſhall you be aſtoniſhed that your deſcendants, your countrymen, your brethren, thoſe who felt your blood circulating in their veins, ſhould rather chooſe to ſpill it than ſubmit to the yoke, and ſhould prefer death to a life of ſlavery? A ſtranger, over whom you would aſſume the ſame pretenſions, would have diſarmed you; if laying bare his breaſt he had ſaid, *Bury your dagger here, or leave me free.* And yet you murder your brother, and you murder him without remorſe, becauſe he is your brother! Engliſhmen! what can be more ignominious than the

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the ferociouſneſs of a man proud of his liberty, and incroaching upon that of another? Muſt we be taught to believe, that the greateſt enemy of liberty is the man who enjoys it? Alas! we are but too much diſpoſed to believe it. Enemies to kings, you have all their haughtineſs. Enemies to the royal prerogative, you diſplay it in all parts. You ſhew yourſelves tyrants every where. Tyrants of nations and of your colonies; if you ſhould prevail in this conteſt, it is becauſe heaven will have been inattentive to the vows that are addreſſed to it from all regions of the earth.

SINCE the ſeas have not ſwallowed up your proud ſatellites, tell me what will become of them, if there ſhould ariſe in the New World an eloquent man, who ſhould promiſe eternal ſalvation to thoſe who ſhould periſh ſword in hand, the martyrs of liberty. Americans, let your prieſts be inceſſantly ſeen in your pulpits, with crowns in their hands, and ſhewing you the heavens opened. Prieſts of the New World, it is time to expiate the antient fanaticiſm, which hath deſolated and ravaged America, by a fanaticiſm more fortunate, the offspring of politics and of liberty. But you will not deceive your fellow-citizens. God who is the firſt principle of juſtice and of order abhors tyrants. God hath imprinted in the heart of man the ſacred love of liberty, and will not ſuffer that ſervitude ſhould degrade and diſfigure the moſt beautiful of his works. If apotheoſis be due to man, it is certainly to him who fights and dies for his country. Place his image

in

in your churches, and put it near your altars. It will be the worſhip of the country. Compoſe a political and religious calendar, in which every day ſhall be marked with the name of ſome one of thoſe heroes who ſhall have ſpilt his blood to make you free. Your poſterity will read them one day with a holy reſpect; they will ſay, theſe are the names of thoſe who have ſet half the world at liberty, and who, exerting themſelves for our happineſs before we exiſted, have prevented that at our birth we ſhould hear the rattling of chains over our cradles.

What meaſures would it have ſuited England to adopt, when ſhe ſaw the ferment raiſed in her colonies.

When the cauſe of the colonies was debated in the national aſſemblies, we have hear'd many excellent pleadings pronounced in their favour. But perhaps the following would have been the moſt proper to addreſs to them:

"I will ſay nothing to you, Gentlemen, of the "juſtice or injuſtice of your pretentions. I am "not ſo much a ſtranger to public affairs, to be ig-"norant that this preliminary examination, which "is ſacred in all other circumſtances of life, would "be improper and ridiculous in this. I will not "enter into what expectations you may have of "ſucceſs, nor will I examine whether you will "prevail in this cauſe, although this ſubject "might appear of ſome importance to you, and "might probably engage your attention. Nor "will I even compare the advantages of your "ſituation if you ſhould ſucceed, with the con-"ſequences that will follow if you ſhould fail. "But I will ſuppoſe at once, that you have re-"duced the colonies to the degree of ſervitude

" which you require. I only wiſh to be informed " how you will maintain them in it. Will it be " by a ſtanding army? But this army, which " will exhauſt you of men and money, will it " follow or not the increaſe of population? There " are but two anſwers to be made to this queſtion, " and of theſe two anſwers one ſeems to me to be " abſurd, and the other brings you back to the " ſituation in which you now are. I have re- " flected much upon the matter, and if I miſtake " not, I have diſcovered the only reaſonable " and ſure meaſure you have to purſue. This " is, as ſoon as you ſhall have made yourſelves " maſters of them, to ſtop the progreſs of popula- " tion, ſince it appears to you more advanta- " geous, more honourable, and more proper to " rule over a ſmall number of ſlaves, than to " have a nation of freemen for your equals and " friends.

" But you will aſk me how is the progreſs of " population to be ſtopped? The expedient " might perhaps diſguſt men of weak and puſil- " lanimous minds; but fortunately there are " none ſuch in this auguſt aſſembly. This ex- " pedient is to put to death, without mercy, the " greateſt part of theſe unworthy rebels, and to " reduce the reſt to the condition of Negroes. " The brave and generous Spartans, ſo celebrat- " ed in ancient and modern hiſtory, have ſet you " the example. Like them, with their faces " muffled up in their cloaks, let our fellow-citi- " zens and ſatellites go out clandeſtinely in the " night-time, and maſſacre the children of our

" Helots

" Helots by the ſide of their fathers and on the
" breaſts of their mothers, leaving only a ſuffi-
" cient number of them alive for the labours,
" and for our ſecurity."

ENGLISHMEN, you ſhudder at this horrid propoſal, and you aſk what meaſure might be adopted; either conquerors or conquered, this is what you have to do: If the reſentment excited by your barbarities can be calmed, if the Americans can ſhut their eyes upon the ravages that ſurround them, if when walking over the ruins of their cities reduced to aſhes, and of their habitations deſtroyed, over the bones of their fellow-citizens ſcattered in the field; if while they breathe the ſcent of blood which your hands have ſpilt in all parts, it can be poſſible that they ſhould forget the enormities of your deſpotiſm; if they can allow themſelves to put the leaſt truſt in your diſcourſes, and can perſuade themſelves that you have ſeriouſly renounced the injuſtice of your pretentions, begin by recalling the aſſaſſins who are in your pay; reſtore liberty to their ports, which you now keep blocked up; let your veſſels depart from their coaſts; and if there be a wiſe citizen among you, let him take an olive branch in his hand, let him preſent himſelf to them and ſay:

" O you, our fellow-citizens and our old
" friends, allow us to uſe this title; we have
" indeed profaned it, but our repentance makes
" us worthy of reſuming it, and we ſhall here-
" after aſpire to the glory of preſerving it; we
" confeſs, in the preſence of Heaven, and of this
" earth,

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" earth, which have been witneſſes of it, that " our pretentions have been unjuſt, and our pro- " ceedings barbarous. Forget them as we do. " Build up your ramparts and your fortreſſes. " Aſſemble yourſelves again in your peaceable " habitations. Let us wipe out from our me- " mory even the laſt drop of blood that has been " ſpilt. We admire the generous ſpirit which " hath directed you. It is the ſame to which in " ſimilar circumſtances we have owed our ſalva- " tion. It is particularly by theſe ſigns that we " know you to be our fellow-citizens and our " brethren: Your wiſh is liberty and you ſhall " be free. You ſhall be free in all the extent " that we ourſelves have attached to this ſacred " name. It is not from us that you hold this " right, we can neither give it nor take it away " from you. You have received it as we have, " from nature, which the crime and the ſword of " tyrants can fight againſt but cannot deſtroy. " We pretend not to any kind of ſuperiority over " you, the honour of aſpiring to an equality is " ſufficiently glorious for us. We are too well " acquainted with the ineſtimable advantage of " governing ourſelves, to be deſirous hereafter of " depriving you of it.

" MASTERS and ſupreme arbitrators of your " own legiſlation, if in your States you can cre- " ate a better form of government than our's is, " we congratulate you previouſly upon it. Your " happineſs will inſpire us with no other ſenti- " ment than the deſire of imitating you. Form " for yourſelves conſtitutions adapted to your " climate,

" climate, to your ſoil, and to the New World, " which you are civilizing. Who can be better " acquainted with your own wants than your- " ſelves? Proud and virtuous ſouls, ſuch as " your's are, ought not to obey any laws ex- " cept thoſe which they give themſelves. Every " other yoke would be unworthy of them. Re- " gulate your taxes yourſelves. We only aſk of " you to conform to our cuſtom in the levying " of the impoſt. We will preſent you with a " ſtate of our wants, and you will determine " yourſelves the juſt proportion between your " ſupplies and your riches.

" MOREOVER, exerciſe your own induſtry as " we do our's, and that without any reſtraint. " Make the beſt advantage of the benefits of Na- " ture, and of the fertile regions which you in- " habit. Let the iron of your mines, the fleeces " of your flocks, the ſkins of thewild animals wan- " dering in your foreſts, be prepared in your " own manufactures, and acquire in your hands " an additional value. Let your ports be free. " Let your commodities and the productions " of your arts be conveyed to all parts of the " world, from whence you may alſo derive all " thoſe which you are in want of. This is one " of our privileges, let it alſo be your's. The " empire of the ocean, which we have ſubdued " by two centuries of grandeur and glory, belongs " to you as well as to us. We will be united " by the ties of commerce. You will bring your " productions to us, which we will accept in pre- " ference to thoſe of all other people, and we

 " hope

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" hope that you will prefer our's to thoſe of fo-
" reign nations, without however being reſtrain-
" ed to it by any law, unleſs by that of the com-
" mon intereſt, and by the title of fellow-citizens
" and friends.

" LET your ſhips and our's, decorated with
" the ſame flag, cover the ſeas, and when theſe
" friendly veſſels ſhall meet in the midſt of the
" deſerts of the ocean, let ſhouts of joy be hear'd
" on both ſides. Let peace be renewed, and let
" concord laſt for ever between us. We under-
" ſtand at length, that the chain of reciprocal
" benevolence, is the only one that can connect
" empires at ſuch a diſtance, and that every
" other principle of union would be unjuſt and
" precarious.

" ACCORDING to this new plan of everlaſting
" friendſhip, let agriculture, induſtry, legiſla-
" tion, the arts, and that firſt of all ſciences,
" that of doing the greateſt good to States and
" to mankind, be improved among us. Let the
" account of your happineſs invite around your
" dwellings all the unfortunate men upon the
" face of the earth. Let tyrants of all countries,
" and all oppreſſors, whether political or reli-
" gious, know, that there exiſts a place upon
" the earth where one may eſcape from their
" chains; where humanity diſgraced hath raiſed
" it's head again; where the harveſts grow for
" the poor; where the laws are no more than
" the guarantee of happineſs; where religion is
" free, and conſcience hath ceaſed to be a ſlave;
" where Nature, in a word, ſeems to wiſh to
" juſtify

" juſtify herſelf for having created man, and
" where government for ſo long a time guilty
" over all the earth, at length makes ample re-
" paration for it's crimes. Let the idea of ſuch
" an aſylum alarm the deſpots, and ſerve as a
" reſtraint to them; for if the happineſs of man-
" kind be a matter of indifference to them, they
" are at leaſt ambitious and avaritious, and are
" therefore anxious to preſerve both their power
" and their riches.

" We ourſelves, O! our fellow-citizens and our
" friends, we ourſelves will profit by your example.
" If our conſtitution ſhould be impaired; if pub-
" lic wealth ſhould corrupt the court, and the court
" the nation; if our kings, to whom we have
" given ſo many terrible leſſons, ſhould at length
" forget them; if we who were an auguſt people,
" were threatened with becoming the meaneſt
" and vileſt of all herds by ſelling ourſelves;
" the ſight of your virtues and of your laws might
" perhaps reanimate us. It would recall to our
" degraded minds both the value and the gran-
" deur of liberty; and if this example ſhould be
" ineffectual; if ſlavery, the conſequence of ve-
" nal corruption, ſhould one day eſtabliſh itſelf
" in that ſame country, which hath been de-
" luged with blood in the cauſe of liberty, and
" where our fathers have ſeen ſcaffolds erected
" for tyrants; we will then abandon this un-
" grateful land devoted to deſpotiſm, and we
" will leave the monſter to reign over a deſert.
" You will then receive us as friends and bre-
" thren. You will partake with us that ſoil, that

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" air, as free as the ſouls of it's generous inha-
" bitants; and thanks to your virtues, we ſhall
" find England and a country again.

" Such are, brave fellow-citizens, both our
" hopes and our wiſhes. Receive therefore our
" oaths as the pledges of ſo holy an alliance. Let
" us invoke, to render this treaty more ſolemn, let
" us invoke our common anceſtors, who have
" all been animated with the ſpirit of liberty as
" you are, and who have not feared to die in it's
" defence. Let us call to witneſs the memory
" of the illuſtrious founders of your colonies,
" that of your auguſt legiſlators, of the philoſo-
" pher Locke, who was the firſt man upon earth
" who made a code of toleration, and of the ve-
" nerable Penn, who firſt founded a city of
" brothers. The ſouls of theſe great men, whoſe
" eyes are undoubtedly in this moment fixed
" upon us, are worthy to preſide at a treaty
" which is to ſecure the peace of two worlds.
" Let us ſwear in their preſence, and upon thoſe
" arms with which you have fought us, to re-
" main ever united and faithful; and when we
" have pronounced all together an oath of peace,
" then let theſe ſame arms be taken up, and let
" them be conveyed into a ſacred depoſit, where
" fathers will ſhew them to every riſing genera-
" tion; and there let them be kept faithfully from
" age to age, in order to be one day turned
" againſt the firſt man, whether Engliſh or Ame-
" rican, who ſhall dare to propoſe the breaking
" off of this alliance, equally uſeful and equally
" honourable to both nations."

At

At this diſcourſe methinks I hear the cities, the hamlets, the fields, and all the ſhores of North America, reſound with acclamations, and repeating with emotion the name of their Engliſh brethren, the name of the mother-country. Joyful fireworks ſucceed to the conflagrations of diſcord, and in the mean while, the nations, jealous of your power, will remain ſilent in aſtoniſhment and deſpair.

The parliament is going to aſſemble, and what have we to expect? Will the voice of reaſon be hear'd there, or will they perſevere in their folly? Will they be the defenders of the people, or the inſtrument of the tyranny of miniſters? Will their acts be the decrees of a free nation, or edicts dictated by the court? I attend at the debates. Theſe revered places reſound with harangues full of moderation and wiſdom. Soft perſuaſion ſeems to flow from the lips of the moſt diſtinguiſhed orators. They draw tears from the audience. My heart is elated with hope, when ſuddenly a voice, the organ of deſpotiſm and of war, ſuſpends this delightful emotion.

"Englishmen," ſaith this furious declaimer, "can you heſitate one moment? They are "your rights, your moſt important intereſts; "it is the glory of your name which muſt be "defended. Theſe great benefits are not at-"tacked by a foreign power, but threatened by "a domeſtic enemy. The danger is the greater, "the outrage more ſenſibly felt.

"Between two rival nations in arms for mu-"tual pretenſions, policy may ſometimes ſuſpend "the fight. Againſt rebellious ſubjects the

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" greateſt fault is delay. All moderation is " weakneſs. The ſtandard of rebellion was " raiſed by boldneſs; let it be pulled down by " force. Let the ſword of juſtice fall upon " thoſe who have unſheathed it. Let us loſe no " time: to ſtifle revolutions, there is a firſt mo- " ment which muſt be ſeized upon. Let us not " leave to aſtoniſhed minds the leiſure to accuſtom " themſelves to their crime; to the chiefs, the " time to confirm their power; nor to the peo- " ple, that of learning to obey new maſters. " The people in a rebellion are almoſt always " draw'n away by ſome foreign impulſe; neither " their fury, nor their hatred, nor their attach- " ment, belong to them. Their paſſions are " given to them as their weapons. Let us diſ- " play before their eyes the ſtrength and ma- " jeſty of the Britiſh empire. They will ſoon fall " down at our feet; they will paſs on, in an in- " ſtant, from terror to remorſe, and from re- " morſe to obedience. If we muſt have recourſe " to the ſeverity of arms, let there be no quar- " ter. In civil war, mercy is the moſt falſe of " all virtues. When once the ſword is draw'n, " it ſhould never be ſheathed till ſubmiſſion be " attained. Henceforward it is their's to anſwer " to heaven and to earth for their own misfor- " tunes. Let us conſider, that a temporary ſe- " verity, exerciſed in theſe rebellious regions, " muſt ſecure to us obedience and peace for ages " to come.

" To ſuſpend our exertions, and to diſarm us, " we are repeatedly told, that this country is " peopled

" peopled with our fellow-citizens, our friends, " and our brothers. What, ſhall we invoke in " their favour names which they have outraged, " and ties which they have broken? Theſe " names, and theſe ſacred ties, are the things " that accuſe them, and pronounce them guilty. " Since when do thoſe titles, ſo revered, im- " poſe duties only upon us. Since when have " rebellious children the right of taking up arms " againſt their mother, of depriving her of her " inheritance, and of tearing her to pieces? " They talk of liberty. I reſpect the name as " much as they do: but, is this liberty inde- " pendence? Is it the right of ſubverting a le- " giſlation, eſtabliſhed and founded for two cen- " turies paſt? Is it the right of uſurping all our " rights. They talk of liberty; and I talk of " the ſupremacy and the ſovereign power of " England.

" WHAT, if they had any complaints to make, " if they refuſed to bear with us a ſmall portion " of the burthen which oppreſſes us, and to ſhare " in our expences, as we make them ſhare in " our grandeur, had they no other way of doing " this, but by rebellion, but by arms? They " are called our fellow-citizens, and our friends; " but I behold in them nothing more than our " perſecutors, and the moſt cruel enemies of our " country. Undoubtedly, we have had common " anceſtors; but theſe reſpectable forefathers I " myſelf call upon with confidence. If their " ſhades could reſume their place here, their in- " dignation would be equal to our's. With

" what

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" what reſentment would theſe virtuous citizens
" hear, that thoſe of their deſcendants who had
" ſettled beyond the ſeas, had no ſooner felt their
" own ſtrength, than they had made the guilty
" trial of it againſt their country; and that
" they have turned her own benefits againſt her.
" All of them, yes, all of them, even that pa-
" cifick ſet into whom their founder inſtilled the
" duty of never ſteeping their hands in blood;
" they who had reſpected the rights and the lives
" of ſavage people; they who, in the enthuſiaſm
" of humanity, have broken the fetters of their
" ſlaves; at preſent equally faithleſs to their
" country and to their religion, take up arms
" for the purpoſe of carnage, and to uſe them
" againſt you. They treat all men as their bre-
" thren, and you alone, of all people, are ex-
" cluded from this title. They have taught the
" world, that the ſavage Americans, and the
" Negroes of Africa, are henceforth leſs ſtrangers
" to them than the citizens of England.

" Arm yourſelves, therefore, avenge your of-
" fended rights, avenge your greatneſs betrayed.
" Diſplay that power, which makes itſelf be
" feared in Europe, in Africa, and in India;
" and which hath ſo often aſtoniſhed America
" itſelf; and ſince between a ſovereign people,
" and the ſubject that rebels, there can hence-
" forth be no other treaty than that of force,
" let force determine the matter. Preſerve, and
" retake that univerſe which belongs to you,
" and which ingratitude and boldneſs would de-
" prive you of."

THE

England reſolves to reduce her colonies by force.

THE ſophiſms of a vehement orator, ſupported by the influence of the crown, and by national pride, extinguiſhed in moſt of the repreſentatives of the people the deſire of a pacific arrangement. The new reſolutions are ſimilar to the former. Every thing in them even bears, in a more deciſive manner, the ſtamp of ferociouſneſs and deſpotiſm. Armies are raiſed, and fleets are equipped. The generals and the admirals ſail towards the New World, with deſtructive and ſanguinary orders and plans. Nothing but unreſerved ſubmiſſion can preſerve or put a ſtop to the ravages ordained againſt the colonies.

TILL this memorable period, the Americans had confined themſelves to a reſiſtance authorized by the Engliſh laws themſelves. They had ſhew'n no other ambition, but that of being maintained in the very limited rights which they had always enjoyed. Their chiefs, even, who might be ſuppoſed to have more extenſive views, had not yet ventured to ſpeak to the people of any thing more than an advantageous accommodation. By going further, they would have been apprehenſive of loſing the confidence of the people, attached by habit to an empire under the protection of which they had proſpered. The report of the great preparations that were making for war in the Old Hemiſphere, either to enſlave or to reduce the New one to aſhes, extinguiſhed what remains there might be of affection for the original government. It now remained only to inſpire the minds of men with energy. This effect was produced by a work intitled *Common Senſe.*

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Senſe. We ſhall here give an account of the ground-work of this doctrine, without confining ourſelves preciſely to the order the writer hath adopted.

NEVER, ſays the author of this celebrated work, never did an intereſt of greater importance engage the attention of the nations. It is not the concern of a city, or of a province, it is that of an immenſe continent, and of a great part of the globe. It is not the concern of a day, it is that of ages. The preſent period will determine the fate of a long futurity; and many hundred years after the ceſſation of our exiſtence, the ſun, in giving light to this hemiſphere, will ſhine either upon our ſhame or our glory. We have for a long time talked of reconciliation and peace; but every thing is changed. As ſoon as arms are taken up, as ſoon as the firſt drop of blood is ſpilt, the time for debate is paſt. One day hath given riſe to a revolution. One day hath tranſported us into a new age.

MEN of timorous minds, and who judge of the future by the paſt, think we are in want of the protection of England. She may be uſeful to a riſing colony; ſhe is become dangerous to a nation completely formed. Infancy ſtands in need of ſupport, but youth muſt walk free, and with the elevation that is ſuitable to it. Between one nation and another, as between man and man, he who can have the power and the right to protect me, may alſo have the power and the will to do me an injury. I give up the protector, in order that I may not have a maſter to fear.

IN

In Europe, the people are too cloſely preſſed together, to admit this part of the globe to enjoy conſtant peace. The intereſts of courts and of nations are always claſhing with each other. As the friends of England, we are obliged to have all her enemies. The dowry which this alliance will bring to America is perpetual war. Let us, therefore, ſeparate. Neutrality, trade, and peace; ſuch are the foundations of our grandeur.

The authority of Great Britain muſt, ſooner or later, have an end. This is the operation of nature, of neceſſity, and of time. The Engliſh government, therefore, can only give us a temporary conſtitution; and we ſhall only bequeath to our poſterity, an American ſtate, burdened with diſſentions and debts. If we be deſirous of ſecuring our happineſs, let us ſeparate. If we be fathers, and if we love our children, let us ſeparate. Laws and liberty, ſuch is the inheritance we owe them.

England is at too great a diſtance from us to govern us. What, ſhall we always croſs two thouſand leagues to demand the protection of laws, to claim juſtice, to juſtify ourſelves of imaginary crimes, and meanly to ſolicit the court and the miniſtry of a foreign climate? Muſt we wait whole years for every anſwer, ſuppoſing it were not even too often injuſtice that we were obliged to go in ſearch of acroſs the ocean? No, for a great ſtate, the center and the ſeat of power muſt neceſſarily be in the ſtate itſelf. Nothing but the deſpotiſm of the Eaſt can poſſibly have accuſtomed the people thus to receive laws from

diſtant maſters, or from baſhaws, who are the repreſentatives of inviſible tyrants. But remember, that the more the diſtance increaſes, the heavier is the weight of deſpotiſm; and that the people, then deprived of almoſt all the benefits of government, have none but the misfortunes and vices of it.

NATURE hath not created a world, in order to ſubject it to the inhabitants of an iſland in another hemiſphere. Nature hath eſtabliſhed laws of equilibrium, which ſhe follows in all parts, in the heavens as on the earth. By the rule of quantity and of diſtance, America can belong only to itſelf.

THERE is no government without a mutual confidence, between him who commands and him who obeys. Otherwiſe all is over, the communication is interrupted, and cannot poſſibly be renewed. England hath ſhew'n too evidently, that ſhe wanted to command us as ſlaves; America, that ſhe was equally ſenſible of her rights and her ſtrength. Each of them hath betrayed it's ſecret; and from that moment no treaty can take place. It would be ſigned by hatred and miſtruſt; hatred which cannot forgive, and miſtruſt, which in it's nature is irreconcileable.

WOULD you know what would be the conſequence of an accommodation? Your ruin. You ſtand in need of laws, and will not obtain them. Who is to give them to you? The Engliſh nation? But ſhe is jealous of your increaſe. The king? He is your enemy. Yourſelves, in your aſſemblies? Do you not recollect, that every legiſlation

giſlation is ſubject to the negative right of the monarch who wiſhes to ſubdue you? This right would be a terrible one, inceſſantly militating againſt you. Should you make demands, they will be eluded: ſhould you form plans of grandeur and commerce, they would become an object of alarm for the mother-country. Your government would be nothing more than a clandeſtine war, ſuch as that of an enemy who wiſhes to deſtroy without fighting; it would be, in political œconomy, a ſlow and concealed aſſaſſination, which gives riſe to languor, which prolongs and entertains weakneſs, and which, by a deſtructive art, keeps the body equally ſuſpended between life and death. If you ſhould ſubmit to England, ſuch will be your fate.

We have a right to take up arms. Our rights are, neceſſity, a juſt defence; our misfortunes, thoſe of our children, the enormities committed againſt us. Our rights are our auguſt title of nation. The ſword muſt decide between us. The tribunal of war is henceforth the only tribunal that exiſts for us. If we muſt fight, let it at leaſt be for a cauſe that is worthy, and which will reward us for the laviſhment of our riches and our blood. What! ſhall we expoſe ourſelves to ſee our cities deſtroyed, our countries ravaged, our families put to the ſword, merely to obtain an honourable accommodation, that is to ſay, to intreat for new chains, and to cement ourſelves the edifice of our ſlavery? What! ſhall it be by the light of conflagrations; ſhall it be over the graves of our fathers, of our children, and of our

wives, that we ſhall ſign a treaty with our oppreſſors? And will they, covered over with our blood, condeſcend to forgive us? Alas! we ſhould then be nothing more than a vile object of aſtoniſhment to Europe, of indignation to America, and of contempt even to our enemies. If we can obey, we have had no right to contend. Liberty alone can abſolve us. Liberty, and entire liberty, is the only aim worthy of our efforts, and of our perils. What do I ſay? It belongs to us from this moment. It is in the bloody plains of Lexington that our claims are regiſtered; it is there that England hath tor'n in pieces that contract which united us to her. Yes, at the inſtant when England fired the firſt ſhot againſt us, nature herſelf proclaimed us free and independent.

Let us avail ourſelves of the benefits we receive from our enemies. The youth of nations is the age the moſt favourable to their independence. It is the period of energy and vigour. Our minds are not yet ſurrounded with that parade of luxury, which ſerves as a hoſtage to tyranny. Our limbs are not yet enervated by the arts of effeminacy. There is none of that nobility bearing ſway among us, which, even by it's conſtitution, is allied to kings; which is no further attached to liberty, than when it can make it the means of oppreſſion; that nobility, eager of rights and titles, for whom, in times of revolution and criſis, the people are nothing more than an inſtrument, and for whom the ſupreme power is a corrupter always at hand.

YOUR colonies are formed of plain and courageous, laborious and proud men; men who are at once the proprietors and the cultivators of their lands. Liberty is the firſt of their wants. Ruſtic labours have previouſly inured them to war. Public enthuſiaſm will bring forth talents unknow'n. It is in revolutions that the minds of men are enlarged, that heroes make their appearance, and take their poſt. Recall Holland to your memory, and the multitude of extraordinary men to whom the conteſt for her liberty gave birth: ſuch is your example. Recollect her ſucceſs: ſuch is your preſage.

LET our firſt meaſure be to form a conſtitution that may unite us. The moment is come. Later than this, it would be abandoned to an uncertain futurity, and to the caprices of chance. The more we acquire men and riches, the more barriers will ariſe between us. How ſhall we then conciliate ſo many intereſts, and ſo many provinces? For a union of this kind, it is neceſſary that every people ſhould be ſenſible at once of the weakneſs and ſtrength of the whole. Great calamities, or great apprehenſions, muſt prevail. Then it is, that among nations, as among individuals, thoſe vigorous and rooted friendſhips take place, which reciprocally bind the ſouls and the intereſt of men. Then it is, that one ſingle ſpirit univerſally prevailing, forms the genius of ſtates; and that all the ſcattered forces become, by being collected, one ſole and terrible force. Thanks to our perſecutors, we are now at that period; and if we have courage, it will be a for-

tunate one for us. Few nations have ſeized the favourable moment for the formation of their government. If this moment ſhould once eſcape, it never returns; and men are conſequently puniſhed with ages of anarchy and ſlavery. Let not a ſimilar fault prepare ſimilar regrets for us, which would be ineffectual.

Let us, therefore, ſeize upon the moment which is the only one for us. It is in our power to form the fineſt conſtitution that ever exiſted among men. You have read in your ſacred writings, the hiſtory of mankind buried under a general deluge of the globe. One ſingle family ſurvived, and was commiſſioned by the Supreme Being to renew the earth. We are that family. Deſpotiſm hath overwhelmed every thing; and we can renew the world a ſecond time.

At this inſtant, we are going to determine the fate of a race of men more numerous, perhaps, than all the people of Europe taken together. Shall we wait 'till we become the prey of the conqueror, and till the hopes of the univerſe ſhall be fruſtrated? Let us ſuppoſe, that all the future generations of the world have at this moment their eyes fixed upon us, and are aſking us for liberty. We are going to ſettle their deſtiny. If we betray them, they will one day walk over our graves with their chains, and perhaps load us with imprecations.

Remember a work that hath appeared among us, and the motto of which was, Union or Death.

Let

LET us therefore unite, and begin by declaring our INDEPENDENCE. That alone can efface the title of rebellious ſubjects, which our inſolent oppreſſors dare to beſtow upon us. That alone can make us riſe to that dignity that is our due, inſure us allies among the powers, and imprint reſpect even on our enemies; and if we treat with them, that alone can give us the right of treating with that right and majeſty which belongs to a nation.

BUT I will repeat it: Let us loſe no time. Our uncertainty occaſions our weakneſs. Let us dare to be free, and we are ſo. When we are ready to get over this ſtep, we ſtart back. We all look at each other with anxious curioſity. It ſeems as if we were aſtoniſhed at our boldneſs, and frightened at our courage. But it is no longer time to calculate. In great affairs, and where there is but one great meaſure to adopt, too much circumſpection ceaſes to be prudence. Whatever is extreme, demands an extreme reſolution. Then the moſt enterprizing ſteps are the moſt prudent; and the exceſs of boldneſs becomes even the means and the warrant of ſucceſs.

The colonies break the ties which united them to England; and declare themſelves independent of that country.

SUCH was the baſis of the ſentiments and ideas diffuſed in this work. They confirmed in their principles thoſe bold men, who for a long time paſt had aſked to be entirely detached from the mother-country. The timid citizens, who had hitherto heſitated, at length determined on this great ſeparation. The wiſh for independence had a ſufficient number of partiſans, to enable the general

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neral congreſs to declare it on the 4th of July 1776.

O, that I had received from nature the genius and eloquence of the celebrated orators of Athens and Rome! With what ſublimity, with what enthuſiaſm ſhould I not ſpeak of thoſe generous men, who by their patience, their wiſdom, and their courage, have erected this grand edifice. Hancock, Franklin, and the two Adams's, were the principal perſons in this intereſting ſcene; but they were not the only ones. Poſterity will be acquainted with them all. Their celebrated names will be tranſmitted to it by a more fortunate pen than mine. The marble and the bronze will exhibit them to the remoteſt ages. At ſight of them, the friend of liberty will feel his eyes filled with pleaſing tears, and his heart will bound with joy. Under the buſt of one of them has been written, HE TOOK FROM HEAVEN IT'S THUNDER, AND FROM TYRANTS THEIR SCEPTER. They will all partake with him the laſt words of this encomium.

HEROIC region! mine advanced age will not allow me to viſit thee! I ſhall never be preſent amidſt the reſpectable perſons who compoſe your Areopagus. I ſhall never aſſiſt at the deliberations of your Congreſs. I ſhall die without having ſeen the reſidence of toleration, of morality, and of ſound laws; of virtue, and of liberty. A free and ſacred land will not cover my aſhes: but I could have wiſhed it; and my laſt words ſhall be vows addreſſed to Heaven for your proſperity.

ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH America was assured that her conduct would meet with universal approbation, yet she thought it her duty to lay before the nations the motives of it. She published her manifesto *, in which we read; the history of the English nation, and of it's king, will offer to posterity, in speaking of them and of us, nothing but a heap of outrages and usurpations, all equally tending to the establishment of absolute tyranny in these provinces.

THIS history will say, that it's monarch hath refused to give his consent to laws which were the most salutary and the most necessary for the public good.

THAT he hath transferred the assemblies to inconvenient places, at a distance from the records, in order to bring the deputies more easily into his views.

THAT he hath several times dissolved the chamber of the representatives, because the rights of the people were strenuously defended there.

THAT after the dissolution, the states have been left too long without representatives; and were consequently exposed to the inconveniences resulting from the want of an assembly.

THAT he hath endeavoured to put a stop to population, by making it difficult for a foreigner to be naturalized, and by requiring too much for the lands of which he granted the property.

THAT he hath put the judges too much under his dependence, by enacting that they should hold their offices and their salaries from him alone.

* The English reader will easily perceive, that this account is not taken literally from the original manifesto published by the Americans.

THAT he hath created new places, and filled thoſe regions with a multitude of agents, who devoured our ſubſtance and diſturbed our tranquillity.

THAT in time of full peace he hath kept up conſiderable forces in the midſt of us, without the conſent of the legiſlative power.

THAT he hath rendered the military power independent of, and even ſuperior to, the civil law.

THAT he hath ſettled with corrupt men to lodge armed ſoldiers in our houſes, and to ſhelter them from puniſhment for the murders which they might commit in America; to deſtroy our trade in all the parts of the globe; to impoſe taxes on us without our conſent; to deprive us in ſeveral caſes of our trials, by juries; to tranſport us beyond ſeas that we might be brought to trial there; to take away our characters, ſuppreſs our beſt laws, and alter the baſis and the form of our government; to ſuſpend our own legiſlation in order to give us other laws.

THAT he hath himſelf abdicated his government over the provinces of America, by declaring that we had forfeited his protection, and by waging war againſt us.

THAT he hath cauſed our coaſts to be ravaged, our ports to be deſtroyed, and our people to be maſſacred.

THAT he hath compelled our fellow-citizens, taken priſoners at ſea, to bear arms againſt their country, to become the aſſaſſins of their friends and their brethren, or to periſh themſelves by thoſe beloved hands.

THAT

THAT he hath fomented inteſtine diviſions amongſt us, and endeavoured to excite againſt our peaceful inhabitants, barbarous ſavages, accuſtomed to maſſacre without diſtinction of rank, of ſex, or of age, every perſon they met with.

THAT at this time mercenary and foreign armies have arrived on our ſhores, who were intended to conſummate the work of deſolation and of death.

AND that a prince, whoſe character was thus marked by all the features of tyranny, was not fit to govern a free people.

A PROCEEDING which diſſolved the ties formed by conſanguinity, by religion, and by habit, ought to have been ſupported by a great unanimity and by prudent and vigorous meaſures. The united ſtates of America gave themſelves a confederate conſtitution, which added all the exterior ſtrength of the monarchy to all the interior advantages of a republican government.

EACH province had an aſſembly formed by the repreſentatives of the different diſtricts, and who were intruſted with the legiſlative power. The executive power was veſted in the preſident. It was his right and his duty to hear the complaints of all the citizens, to convene them when circumſtances required it, to provide for the equipment and ſubſiſtance of the troops, and to concert the operations with their chiefs. He was placed at the head of a ſecret committee, whoſe buſineſs it was to keep up a conſtant intercourſe with the general Congreſs. The time of his adminiſtration

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miniſtration is limited to two years, but the laws allowed it to be prolonged.

The provinces were not obliged to give an account of their adminiſtration to the great council of the nation, although it was compoſed of the deputies of all the colonies. The ſuperiority of the general congreſs over each particular congreſs was limited to what concerned policy and war.

But ſome people have judged that the inſtitution of this body was not ſo well planned as the legiſlation of the provinces. It ſhould ſeem indeed, that confederate States, who emerge from the condition of ſubjects to riſe to independence, cannot without danger intruſt their delegates with an unlimited power of making peace or war. For if theſe were either faithleſs or not much enlightened, they might again ſubject the whole State to the ſame yoke from which it attempts to free itſelf. It ſeems that in the inſtant of a revolution, the public wiſhes cannot be too much know'n nor too literally explained. It is undoubtedly neceſſary, ſay they, that all the meaſures, all the operations which concur to the common attack or defence, ſhould be decided by the common repreſentatives of the body of the State; but the continuation of the war, and the conditions of peace ought to be debated in each province; and the deliberations ſhould be tranſmitted to the congreſs by the deputies, who ſhould ſubmit the opinion of their provinces to the majority of votes. Laſtly, it is added, that if it be right in eſtabliſhed governments for the people to confide in the

the wiſdom of the ſenate, it is neceſſary in a State where the conſtitution is forming, where the people, ſtill uncertain of their fate, require their liberty ſword in hand, that all the citizens ſhould continually attend at the councils in the army, and in the public places, and that they ſhould always keep a watchful eye over the repreſentatives to whom they have intruſted their deſtiny.

THOUGH theſe principles be generally true, it may however be anſwered, that it was difficult perhaps to apply them to the new republic formed by the Americans. The caſe is not with them as with the confederate republics we ſee in Europe, I mean Holland and Switzerland, which only occupy a territory of ſmall extent, and where it is an eaſy matter to eſtabliſh a rapid communication between the ſeveral provinces. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the confederacies of antient Greece. Theſe States were ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from each other, almoſt entirely confined within the limits of the Peloponneſus, or within the circuit of a narrow Archipelago. But the United States of America, diſperſed over an immenſe continent, occupying in the New World a ſpace of near fifteen degrees, ſeparated by deſerts, mountains, gulphs, and by a vaſt extent of coaſts, cannot enjoy ſo ſpeedy a communication. If congreſs were not impowered to decide upon political intereſts without the particular deliberations of each province; if upon every occaſion of the leaſt importance, and every unforſeen event, it were neceſſary for the repreſentatives to receive new orders, and as it were a new power,

er, this body would remain in a ſtate of inactivity. The diſtances to be traverſed, together with the length and the multiplicity of the debates might be too frequently prejudicial to the general good.

Besides, it is never in the infancy of a conſtitution, and in the midſt of the great commotions for liberty, that we need apprehend that a body of repreſentatives ſhould betray, either from corruption or weakneſs, the intereſts with which they are intruſted. The general ſpirit will rather be inflamed and exalted in ſuch a body. There it is that the genius of the nation reſides in all it's vigour. Choſen by the eſteem of their fellow-citizens, choſen at a time when every public function is dangerous, and every vote an honour; placed at the head of thoſe who will eternally compoſe this celebrated Areopagus, and on that account naturally induced to conſider public liberty as the work of their own hands, they muſt be poſſeſſed with the enthuſiaſm of founders, whoſe pride it is to engrave for future centuries their names upon the frontiſpiece of the auguſt monument which is erecting. The apprehenſions which the favourers of the contrary ſyſtem might have upon this account, appear therefore to be ill-founded.

I will go further ſtill. It might happen that a people who fight for their liberty, fatigued with a long and painful ſtruggle, and more affected with the dangers of the moment than with the idea of their future happineſs, might feel their courage dampt, and might one day, perhaps,

haps, be tempted to prefer dependence and peace to a tempeſtuous independence, which would expoſe them to dangers and bloodſhed. It is then that it would be advantageous to thoſe people to have deprived themſelves of the power of making peace with their oppreſſors, and to have veſted that power in the hands of a ſenate which they had choſen to be the organ of their will at a time when that will was free, haughty, and courageous. It ſeems as if they had told their ſenate at the time of their inſtitution, We raiſe the ſtandard of war againſt our tyrants; if our arms ſhould grow weary of the fight, if we ſhould ever be capable of degrading ourſelves ſo far as to ſue for repoſe, ſupport us againſt our weakneſs: Do not attend to wiſhes unworthy of ourſelves, which we previouſly diſavow; and do not pronounce the name of peace till our chains ſhall be entirely broken.

ACCORDINGLY, if we conſult [illegible]ſtory of republics, we ſhall find that the m[illegible] have almoſt always the impetuoſity and the ardour of the firſt moment; but that it is only in a ſmall number of men choſen and fit to ſerve as chiefs, in whom reſide thoſe conſtant and vigorous reſolutions which proceed with a firm and certain ſtep towards a great aim, and which are never altered, but obſtinately ſtruggle againſt calamities, fortune, and mankind.

War begins between the United States and England.

HOWEVER this may be, and whatever ſide we may take in this political diſcuſſion, the Americans had not yet formed their ſyſtem of government, when in the month of march, Hopkins was

was carrying off from the Engliſh iſlands of Providence a very numerous artillery, and a great quantity of warlike ſtores; when at the beginning of May, Carleton drove away from Canada the Provincials who were employed in reducing Quebec, in order to finiſh the conqueſt of that great poſſeſſion; when in June, Clinton and Parker were ſo vigorouſly driven back upon the coaſts of South America. The declaration of independence was followed by greater ſcenes.

Howe had ſucceeded the feeble Gage. It was even the new general who had evacuated Boſton. Received in Hallifax on the ſecond of April, he quitted it the tenth of June to go to Staten Iſland, where he was ſucceſſively joined by the land and ſea forces which he expected; and on the 28th of Auguſt he landed without oppoſition upon Long Iſland, under the protection of a fleet, commanded by the admiral his brother. The Americans did not diſplay much more vigour in the inland countries than upon the coaſts. After a trifling reſiſtance and conſiderable loſſes they took refuge on the continent, with a facility which a conqueror, who had know'n how to improve his advantages, would never have given them.

The new republicans forſook the city of New York with ſtill greater facility than they had evacuated Long Iſland, and they retired to Kingſbridge, where every thing ſeemed diſpoſed for an obſtinate reſiſtance.

Had the Engliſh followed up their firſt ſucceſſes with that activity which the circum-

ſtances required, the new levies which were oppoſed to them would infallibly have been diſperſed or obliged to lay down their arms. Six weeks were allowed them to recover themſelves, and they did not abandon their intrenchments till the night of the 2d of November, when they were convinced, by the motions which were made under their eyes, that their camp was going to be attacked.

WASHINGTON their chief, did not chooſe to truſt the fate of his country to an action, which might have been, and which muſt naturally have been, deciſive againſt the great intereſts he was intruſted with. He knew that delays are always favourable to the inhabitants of a country and fatal to ſtrangers. This conviction determined him to fall back upon the Jerſeys with the intention of protracting the war. Favoured by the winter, by the knowlege of the country, by the nature of the territory, which deprived diſcipline of part of it's advantages, he might flatter himſelf that he ſhould be able to cover the greateſt part of this fertile province, and to keep the enemy at a diſtance from Pennſylvania. All of a ſudden he found his colours forſaken by ſoldiers, who were engaged for no more than ſix or even three months, and from an army of five and twenty thouſand men, he ſcarcely kept together two thouſand five hundred, with whom he found himſelf very fortunate to eſcape beyond the Delaware.

WITHOUT loſing a moment the royal troops ought to have croſſed the river in purſuit of this ſmall

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ſmall number of fugitives, and to have completed the diſperſion of them. If the five thouſand men deſtined for the conqueſt of Rhode Iſland, had gone up the river upon the ſhips they were on board of, the junction of the two corps would have been made without oppoſition in Philadelphia itſelf, and the new republic would have been extinguiſhed in the famous and intereſting city which had given it birth.

The Engliſh general was perhaps cenſured at that time for having been too timorous and too circumſpect in the operations of the field. It is however certain, that he was raſh in the diſtribution of his winter-quarters. He ſettled them as if there had not been a ſingle individual in America, who either had the power or the inclination to moleſt them.

This preſumption emboldened the militia of Pennſylvania, of Maryland, and of Virginia, who had united for their common ſafety. The 25th of December, they croſſed the Delaware, and fell unawares upon Trentown, which was occupied by fifteen hundred of the twelve thouſand Heſſians, who had been ſo baſely ſold to Great Britain by their avaricious maſter. This corps was either maſſacred, taken, or intirely diſperſed. A week after, three Engliſh regiments were alſo driven out of Princes Town, but not without having ſhew'n more courage than the foreign troops in their pay. Theſe unexpected events reduced the enemies of America in Jerſey, to the poſts of Amboy and of Brunſwick; and they were even much haraſſed there during the remainder of the

the bad ſeaſon. The effect of great paſſions and great dangers is frequently to aſtoniſh the ſoul, and to plunge it in a kind of ſtupor which deprives it of the uſe of it's powers. By degrees it comes to itſelf and recovers. All it's faculties ſuſpended for a moment, exert themſelves with greater energy. It ſtrains all it's ſprings, and it's ſtrength becomes equal to it's ſituation. In a great multitude ſome individuals firſt experience this effect, and it is quickly communicated to all. This revolution had been accompliſhed in the confederate States, and armed men iſſued forth from all quarters of them.

The campaign of 1777, was opened very late. The Engliſh army deſpairing of making a road to Pennſylvania through the Jerſeys, embarked at length on the 23d of July, and arrived by Cheſeapeak Bay, in a country which their generals might be cenſured for not having invaded the preceding year. Their march was not interrupted till they came to Brandewine, where they attacked and defeated the Americans on the 11th of September, and arrived on the 30th at Philadelphia, which had been abandoned by Congreſs on the 25th, and by a great number of the inhabitants ſome days ſooner or later.

This conqueſt was attended with no conſequences. The conquerors beheld nothing but hatred and devaſtation around them. Confined in a very circumſcribed ſpace, they met with unſurmountable obſtacles in extending themſelves upon an uncultivated territory. Their gold even did not furniſh them with reſources from the

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neighbouring diſtricts, and they could only acquire their ſubſiſtence from acroſs the ſeas. Wearied with a confinement which had laſted nine months, they determined to regain New York by the Jerſeys; and this long and dangerous retreat was accompliſhed under the command of Clinton, who had ſucceeded Howe, with leſs loſs than they would have ſuffered from a more experienced enemy.

While the Engliſh were languiſhing in Pennſylvania a vaſt ſcene was opening in the more northern countries of America. In the month of May 1776, Carleton had driven away the provincials from Canada, and deſtroyed in October the ſhips of war which had been conſtructed upon lake Champlain. This ſucceſs carried Burgoyne to Ticonderago, in the month of July of the enſuing year. At his approach, the garriſon of four thouſand men abandoned this important poſt with the loſs of their artillery, ammunition, and rear guard.

The Engliſh general was naturally preſumptuous, and his boldneſs was increaſed by theſe evident ſigns of weakneſs. He had conceived the deſign of uniting the troops of Canada with thoſe of New York by the ſhores of Hudſon's Bay. This project was great and daring. Had it ſucceeded it would have divided South America into two parts and perhaps have ended the war. But in order to make it ſucceed, it was neceſſary that while one army was going down the river another ſhould be coming up it. This plan having failed, Burgoyne ought to have perceived from the firſt

firſt that his enterpriſe was chimerical. It became more ſo every march. His communications became more diſtant and his proviſions were diminiſhing. The courage of the Americans being revived, they aſſembled and cloſed him on all ſides. At length this unfortunate army found itſelf ſurrounded on the 13th October at Saratoga, and the nations hear'd with aſtoniſhment, that ſix thouſand of the beſt diſciplined troops of the Old Hemiſphere, had laid down their arms before the huſbandmen of the New Hemiſphere, under the conduct of the fortunate Gates. Thoſe who recollected that the Swedes of Charles XII. who had till then been invincible, had capitulated to the Ruſſians, who were ſtill in a ſtate of barbariſm, did not cenſure the Engliſh troops, and only blamed the imprudence of their general.

THIS event, ſo deciſive in the opinion of our politicians, was attended with no greater conſequences than had reſulted from actions leſs favourable to the American arms. After three years ſpent in battles, devaſtation and maſſacres, affairs were much in the ſame ſituation as they were a fortnight after the commencement of hoſtilities. Let us endeavour to inveſtigate the cauſe of this ſtrange ſingularity.

What is the reaſon that the Engliſh have not ſucceeded in ſubduing the confederate provinces.

ENGLAND, accuſtomed to ſtormy times in her own country, did not at firſt perceive all the dangerous tendency of the tempeſt which was riſing in her diſtant poſſeſſions. Her troops had been a long time inſulted at Boſton. An authority independent of her own had been formed in

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Maſſachuſett's Bay; the other colonies were preparing to follow that example before adminiſtration had ſeriouſly attended to thoſe great objects. When they were laid before parliament they excited much clamours in both houſes, and there was no end to the debates. The ſenate of the nation at length determined, that the country which rebelled againſt it's decrees ſhould be compelled by force to ſubmit to them. But this violent reſolution was carried into execution with that delay which is but too common in free States.

England was generally of opinion, that defenceleſs coaſts and countries, which were entirely laid open, could not long reſiſt her fleets and her armies. It did not appear to her that this expedition would continue long enough to give the peaceful cultivators of America time to inſtruct themſelves in the art of war. She did not take into conſideration the climate, the rivers, the defiles, the woods, the moraſſes, the want of ſubſiſtence increaſing in proportion as one advanced in the inland countries, together with an infinite number of other natural obſtacles which would impede any rapid progreſs in a country three-fourths of which were uncultivated, and which ought to be conſidered as a recent one.

The ſucceſſes were ſtill more retarded by the influence of moral cauſes.

Great Britain is the region of parties. Her kings have moſt generally been convinced of the neceſſity of abandoning the direction of affairs to the prevailing faction, by which they were commonly

monly conducted with intelligence and vigour, becauſe the principal agents who compoſed it were animated with one common intereſt. At that time, to the public ſpirit which prevails more in England than in any European government, was added the ſtrength of faction, and that ſpirit of party which is perhaps the firſt ſpring of a republic, and which ſo powerfully agitates the ſoul, becauſe it is always the effect of ſome paſſion. George III. in order to free himſelf from this long tutelage, compoſed his council of members unconnected with each other. This innovation was not attended with great inconveniences, as long as events moved on in their ordinary circle. But when the American war had complicated a machine which was already too intricate, it was perceived that it had no longer that power and that union ſo neceſſary to accompliſh great things. The wheels, too much divided, wanted as it were one common impulſe and a center of motion. Their progreſſion was alternately tardy and precipitate. The adminiſtration reſembled too much that of an ordinary monarchy, when the principle of action doth not come from the head of an active and intelligent monarch, who himſelf collects under his own management all the ſprings of government. There was no longer any harmony in the enterprizes, nor was there any more in the execution of them.

A MINISTRY without harmony and without concord was expoſed to the attacks inceſſantly renewed of an adverſe body of men united and

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pacted together. Their reſolutions, whatever they might be, were oppoſed with ridicule and with argument. They were cenſured for having acted with violence againſt citizens at a diſtance, and they would have been equally cenſured, had they treated them with more circumſpection. Even thoſe who in parliament exclaimed the moſt vehemently againſt the treatment the Americans had met with, thoſe who encouraged them the moſt to reſiſtance, thoſe who perhaps ſent them ſecret ſuccours, were as much averſe from their independence, as the miniſter whom they were inceſſantly endeavouring to degrade or to render odious. If the oppoſition had ſucceeded in diſguſting the prince of his confidents, or had prevailed upon him to ſacrifice them on account of the clamours of the nation, the project of conquering America would ſtill have been purſued; but with more dignity, with more ſtrength, and with meaſures perhaps better adapted. But as the reduction of the provinces was not to be accompliſhed by them, they choſe rather that this immenſe part of the Britiſh empire ſhould be ſeparated from it, than that it ſhould remain attached to it by any other means than their's.

The generals did not repair, by their activity, the errors of theſe contradictions, and of the delays which were the conſequence of them. They granted too long repoſe to the ſoldiers; they waſted in deliberation the time which they ſhould have employed in action; they marched up to new-raiſed troops with as much precaution as they would have taken againſt veterans. The

Engliſh,

Engliſh, who are ſo impetuous in their factions, diſplay on all other occaſions a calm and cool character. They require violent paſſions to agitate them. When this ſtimulus is wanting, they calculate all their motions. Then they conduct themſelves according to the tenor of their character, which in general, except in the arts of imagination and taſte, is univerſally mechanical and prudent. In war, their valour never loſes ſight of military principles, and leaves little to chance. They ſcarce ever leave upon their flanks, or in their rear, any thing that can give them uneaſineſs. This ſyſtem hath it's advantages, eſpecially in a narrow and confined country, in a country thick ſet with fortreſſes, or military poſts. But in the preſent circumſtances, and on the vaſt continent of America, againſt a people to whom one ſhould not have allowed time to fortify themſelves, nor to inure themſelves to war, the perfection of the art would perhaps have been, to lay it entirely aſide; to ſubſtitute to it an impetuous and rapid march, and that boldneſs which at once aſtoniſhes, ſtrikes, and overthrows. It was in the firſt inſtances eſpecially, that it would have been proper to impreſs the Americans, not with the terror of ravages, which irritate rather than they frighten a people armed for their liberty; but with that which ariſes from the ſuperiority of talents and of arms, and which a warlike people of the Old World ought naturally to have carried into the New One. The confidence of victory would ſoon have been victory itſelf. But by too much

circumſpection, by too ſervile an attachment to principles and to rules, commanders of little ſkill failed in rendering that ſervice to their country which ſhe expected, and had a right to expect from them.

The troops, on the other hand, did not preſs their officers to lead them on to action. They arrived from a country, where the cauſe which had obliged them to croſs ſo many ſeas excited no concern. It was, in the eyes of the people, an effervescence which would have no conſequences. They confounded the debates which it occaſioned in parliament, with other debates, which were often of little importance. It was not talked of; and if any perſon happened to mention it, they appeared to be no more intereſted in it, than in that kind of news which, in great cities, employs the lounging hours of every day. The indifference of the nation had communicated itſelf to thoſe who were to defend their rights. Perhaps even they were apprehenſive of gaining too deciſive an advantage over fellow-citizens, who had only taken up arms to prevent ſlavery. In all the monarchies of Europe, the ſoldier is only the inſtrument of deſpotiſm, and his ſentiments are analogous. He thinks he belongs to the throne, and not to his country; and a hundred thouſand men in arms are nothing more than one hundred thouſand diſciplined and terrible ſlaves. The habit even of exerciſing the empire of force, to which every thing gives way, contributes to extinguiſh in them all idea of liberty. Finally, the diſcipline, and military

ſubordination,

ſubordination, which, at the command of one ſingle man, puts thouſands in motion; which doth not ſuffer the ſoldier either to ſee or to aſk queſtions; and which, on the firſt ſignal, makes it a rule to kill or to die, tends completely to change in them thoſe ſentiments into principles, and makes them as it were the moral ſyſtem of their condition. It is not the ſame in England. The influence of the conſtitution is ſo powerful, that it extends even to the troops. A man there is a citizen before he is a ſoldier. Public opinion agreeing with the conſtitution, honours one of theſe titles, and thinks little of the other. Accordingly, we ſee from the hiſtory of the revolutions that have happened in this turbulent iſland, that the Engliſh ſoldier, though enliſted for life, preſerves a paſſion for political liberty, the idea of which cannot be eaſily conceived in our regions of ſlavery.

How is it poſſible that the ardour which was wanting to the Britiſh troops ſhould have animated the Heſſians, the Brunſwickers, and the other Germans, ranged under the ſame ſtandards, and all of them equally diſſatisfied with the ſovereigns who had ſold them, diſſatisfied with the prince who had purchaſed them, diſſatisfied with the nation that paid them, and diſſatisfied with their comrades, who deſpiſed them as mercenaries. Beſides, they had alſo in the enemy's camp, brothers whom they were afraid of deſtroying, and by whoſe hands they would not have wiſhed to be wounded.

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THE ſpirit of the Britiſh armies was alſo changed, in conſequence of a revolution which had taken place in the manners of the nation for about fifteen or eighteen years paſt. The ſucceſſes of the laſt war; the extenſion commerce had received after the peace; the great acquiſitions made in the Eaſt Indies; all theſe means of wealth had accumulated uninterruptedly prodigious riches in Great Britain. Theſe treaſures kindled the deſire of freſh enjoyments. The great went in ſearch of this art in foreign countries, eſpecially in France, and brought with them the poiſon of it into their own country. From the men of high rank, it ſoon diffuſed itſelf among all orders of men. To a haughty, ſimple, and reſerved character, ſucceeded the taſte for parade, diſſipation, and gallantry. The travellers who had formerly viſited this iſland ſo celebrated, thought themſelves under another ſky. The contagion had even gained the troops; they carried into the New Hemiſphere that paſſion they had contracted in the Old one, for play, the inclination for all the conveniences of life, and for high living. In quitting the coaſts, they ſhould have renounced all the ſuperfluities to which they were attached; and that taſte for luxury, that ardour, ſo much the more violent as it was recent, did not encourage them to follow into the inland parts, men who were always ready to fall back upon them. Ye new politicians, who advance with ſo much confidence, that the manners have no kind of influence upon the deſtiny

ſtiny of ſtates; that for them, the meaſure of their grandeur is that of their riches; that the luxury of peace, and the voluptuous purſuits of the citizen, cannot weaken the effect of thoſe great machines which are called armies, and the ſenſible and terrible impulſe of which European diſcipline hath brought to ſo great perfection: you who, to ſupport your opinion, turn your eyes away from the aſhes of Carthage and the ruins of Rome; ſuſpend at leaſt your judgment at the account I am giving you, and acknowlege that there may perhaps be opportunities of ſucceſs, which luxury prevents us from availing ourſelves of. Acknowlege that for troops even that are brave, it has been often the firſt ſource of victory, that they had no wants. It is too eaſy a matter, perhaps, to have nothing but death to face. Nations corrupted by wealth have a more difficult trial to undergo; that of ſupporting the privation of their pleaſures.

Let us add to all theſe reaſons, that the inſtruments of war do not often arrive acroſs the ſeas in the proper ſeaſons for action. Let us add, that the councils of George III. had too much influence over military operations, which were to be carried on at ſo great a diſtance from them; and we ſhall then comprehend moſt of the obſtacles which impeded the ſucceſs of the ruinous efforts of the mother-country againſt the liberty of the colonies.

But wherefore did not America herſelf repulſe from her ſhores the Europeans who were bringing death or ſlavery to her?

Why have not the confederate provinces ſucceeded in

This

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driving the Engliſh from the continent of America?

THIS New World was defended by regular troops, which at firſt had been enliſted only for three or ſix months, and afterwards for three years, or even for all the time hoſtilities might laſt. It was defended by citizens, who only took the field when their particular province was either invaded or threatened. Neither the ſtanding army, nor the militia aſſembled for a time, breathed the military ſpirit. They were planters, merchants, lawyers, exerciſed only in the arts of peace, and led on to danger by commanders as little verſed as their ſubalterns in the very complicated ſcience of military actions. In this ſtate of things, what hope was there of their acting with advantage againſt men grow'n old in diſcipline, trained to evolutions, ſkilled in tactics, and abundantly provided with all the inſtruments neceſſary for a briſk attack, and for an obſtinate reſiſtance?

ENTHUSIASM alone could have ſurmounted ſuch difficulties. But did it really exiſt more in the colonies than in the mother-country?

THE general opinion in England was, that the parliament had eſſentially the right of taxing all the regions which conſtituted a part of the Britiſh empire. At the commencement of the troubles, there were not perhaps a hundred individuals who would have called this authority in queſtion. Nevertheleſs, the refuſal of the Americans to acknowlege it, did not ſet the minds of men againſt them. There was no hatred entertained againſt them, even after they had taken up arms to ſupport their pretenſions. As the labours in the in-

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land parts of the kingdom were not affected, and as the thunder was only hear'd at a diſtance, every one attended peaceably to his own affairs, or devoted himſelf quietly to his pleaſures. All of them expected, without impatience, the end of a ſcene, the termination of which did not indeed appear uncertain to them.

The ferment muſt at firſt have broken out with more violence in the New than in the Old Hemiſphere. Hath ever the odious name of tyranny, or the pleaſing word of independence, been pronounced to the nations, without raiſing emotions in them? But was this ardour kept up? If the imaginations of men had been maintained in their firſt ſtate of commotion, would it not have been the buſineſs of a riſing authority to attend to the ſuppreſſion of the exceſs of it? But far from having boldneſs to reſtrain, it was cowardice they had to guard againſt. They puniſhed deſertion with death, and ſtained the ſtandard of liberty with aſſaſſinations. They refuſed to exchange priſoners, for fear of increaſing, in the troops, their inclination to ſurrender at the firſt ſummons. They were reduced to the neceſſity of erecting tribunals, appointed to proſecute their generals or their lieutenants who ſhould abandon too lightly the poſts committed to their truſt. It is true, an old man of fourſcore years of age, whom they wanted to ſend back to his home, exclaimed: *My death may be uſeful; I ſhall cover with my body a younger man than I am.* It is true, that Putnam ſaid to a loyaliſt who was his priſoner: *Return to your commander; and if he ſhould aſk you how many troops I have, tell him I have enough;*

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enough; that if even he ſhould beat them, there will remain enough; and that he will experience, in the end, that I ſhall have enough for him, and for the tyrants whom he ſerves. Theſe ſentiments were heroic, but rare; and they became leſs common every day.

THE intoxication was never general, and indeed could only be temporary. Of all the cauſes of energy which have produced ſo many revolutions on the globe, none exiſted in the North of America. No outrage had been committed either againſt religion or the laws. The blood of martyrs and of citizens had not flowed upon the ſcaffolds. The morals had received no inſult. The manners and the cuſtoms, none of thoſe objects to which the people are ſo much attached, had been delivered up to ridicule. Arbitrary power had not dragged any inhabitant from the midſt of his family and his friends, to plunge him into the horrors of a priſon. Public order had not been ſubverted. The principles of adminiſtration had not been altered; and the maxims of government had remained always the ſame. The only circumſtance was to know, whether the mother-country had or had not the right, directly or indirectly, of laying a ſlight tax on the colonies: for the accumulated grievances mentioned in the manifeſto aroſe only from this firſt grievance. This queſtion, which is almoſt a metaphyſical one, was ſcarce proper to raiſe an inſurrection among the multitude, or at leaſt to intereſt them ſtrongly in a quarrel, for which they ſaw their lands deprived of the aſſiſtances neceſſary to fertilize them, their harveſts ravaged,

and

and their fields covered with the dead bodies of their relations, or ſtained with their own blood. To theſe calamities, which were occaſioned by the royal troops on the coaſt, others were ſoon added, ſtill more inſupportable, in the inland parts of the country.

WHENEVER the reſtleſſneſs of the courts of London and Verſailles had diſturbed North America, thoſe two powers had always draw'n into their ſanguinary conteſts the wandering inhabitants of this part of the New Hemiſphere. Informed by experience how much weight theſe hords of ſavages could throw into the ſcale, the Engliſh and the coloniſts reſolved equally to employ them to their mutual deſtruction.

CARLETON firſt endeavoured to put arms into the hands of theſe barbarians in Canada. They anſwered his applications with ſaying: "This is "a diſpute between a father and his children; it "does not become us to interfere in this do-"meſtic quarrel."—"But if the rebels ſhould "come to atack this province, would you not "aſſiſt us in repelling them?"—"Since the "peace, the hatchet of war is buried forty fathom "deep."—"You could certainly find it, if you "were to dig for it."—"The handle is rotten, "and we could make no uſe of it."

THE United States were not more ſucceſsful. "We have hear'd of the differences that have "ariſen between Old and New England," ſaid the tribe of the Oneidas to their deputies. "We "will never take a part in conteſts of ſo atro-"cious a nature. A war between brothers is a

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" thing new and unknow'n in theſe regions. Our " traditions have not left us any inſtance of this " kind. Extinguiſh your extravagant hatred; " and may a more ſerene ſky diſpel the dark " cloud that ſurrounds you."

THE Maſphis alone ſeemed to intereſt themſelves in the fate of the Americans. " Here are " ſixteen ſhillings for you," ſaid theſe good ſavages. " It is all we are worth. We intended to " buy ſome rum with it; but we will drink wa- " ter. We will go to the chace; and if we ſhould " kill any animals, we will ſell their ſkins, and " bring you the money."

BUT in proceſs of time, the very active emiſſaries of Great Britain ſucceeded in bringing over to her ſide ſeveral of the original nations. Her intereſts were preferred to thoſe of her enemies, becauſe the diſtance had not allowed her ſubjects to commit the ſame outrages againſt the ſavages as they had received from their proud neighbours; and becauſe ſhe was both able and inclined to pay more liberally for the ſervices ſhe might receive from them. Under her colours theſe allies, whoſe ferocious character knew no reſtraint, did infinitely more miſchief to the coloniſts ſettled near the mountains, than ſuch of their fellow-citizens who had the good fortune to be ſettled near the borders of the ocean received from the royal troops.

THESE calamities fell only upon a more or leſs conſiderable number of the Americans; but they were ſoon all of them afflicted with an internal misfortune.

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THE metals, which cover the face of the whole globe, and repreſent all the objects of commerce, were never abundant in this part of the New World. The ſmall quantity that was found there even diſappeared at the firſt breaking out of hoſtilities. To theſe ſigns of univerſal convention were ſubſtituted others peculiar to theſe diſtricts. Paper ſupplied the want of money. To give ſome kind of dignity to this new pledge, it was ſurrounded with emblems calculated to recall continually to the minds of the people the greatneſs of their enterprize, the ineſtimable value of liberty, and the neceſſity of a perſeverance ſuperior to all misfortunes. The artifice did not ſucceed; and theſe ideal riches were rejected. The more did neceſſity oblige them to be multiplied, the more did their diſcredit increaſe. The congreſs was offended with the inſult done to their coin; and they declared traitors to their country all thoſe who ſhould not receive it as they would have received gold.

DID not the congreſs then know, that authority can no more be exerted over the mind than over opinion? Were they not ſenſible, that in the preſent criſis, every reaſonable citizen would be apprehenſive of riſquing his fortune? Did they not perceive, that at the origin of the republic, they indulged themſelves in acts of deſpotiſm unknow'n in countries that are even formed to ſervitude? Could they conceal from themſelves, that they puniſhed a want of confidence with the ſame puniſhment which would ſcarce have been merited for revolt and treaſon?

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The congreſs perceived all this; but had no choice of means. Their contemptible and rejected paper was actually thirty times below it's original value, when they fabricated more of it. On the 13th September 1779, there was circulating among the public to the amount of 799,744,000 livres * of it. The ſtate was then indebted 188,670,525 livres †, excluſive of the debts peculiar to each province.

The people were not indemnified for a calamity which might be called domeſtic, by a free intercourſe with all the other parts of the globe. Great Britain had intercepted their navigation with the Weſt Indies, and with all the latitudes which were covered with their ſhips. They then declared to the world, "It is the Engliſh name "which hath rendered us odious; we ſolemnly "abjure it. All men are our brethren. We are "the friends of every nation. All flags may ap-"pear upon our coaſts, and frequent our ports "without fear of inſult." But this invitation, apparently ſo alluring, was not complied with. The ſtates that were really commercial being apprized that North America had been obliged to contract debts, at the period even of it's greateſt proſperity, judiciouſly imagined, that in it's preſent diſtreſs, it would be able to pay very little for what was brought to it. The French alone dared to brave the inconveniences of this new connection. But by the enlightened vigilance of Admiral Howe, moſt of the ſhips which they fitted

* 33,322,666l. 13s. 4d. † 7,861,271l. 17s. 6d.

out

out were taken before they arrived to the place of their deſtination, and the reſt at their departure from the American ſhores. Of ſeveral hundred ſhips ſent out from France, no more than twenty-five or thirty returned; and even theſe were of of little or no benefit to their owners.

A NUMBER of privations, added to ſo many calamities, might have made the Americans regret their former tranquillity, and inclined them to a reconciliation with England. In vain were the people bound by the faith of oaths, and by the influence of religion, to the new government. In vain had it been endeavoured to convince them of the impoſſibility of negotiating ſafely with a mother-country, in which one parliament could ſubvert what had been regulated by another. In vain had they been threatened with the eternal reſentment of an affronted and vindictive enemy. It was poſſible that theſe diſtant apprehenſions might not counterbalance the weight of the preſent calamities.

SUCH was the opinion of the Britiſh miniſtry, when they ſent public agents into the New World, who were authorized to offer any terms ſhort of independence, to thoſe very Americans, from whom, two years before, an unlimited ſubmiſſion had been required. There is ſome probability, that this plan of conciliation might have been ſucceſsful ſome months before. But at the period when the court of London ſent to propoſe it, it was haughtily rejected, becauſe this ſtep appeared only to be the effect of fear and weakneſs. The people were already re-animated;

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the congreſs, the generals, the troops, the intelligent or bold, men who in every colony had aſſumed the authority, all, in a word, had recovered their former ſpirit. This was the effect of a treaty of friendſhip and commerce between the United States and the court of Verſailles, which was ſigned on the 6th of February 1778.

France acknowleges the independence of the United States. This ſtep occaſions a war between that crown and the crown of England.

HAD the Engliſh miniſtry reflected, they would have comprehended that the ſame delirium which cauſed them to attack their colonies, ſhould have compelled them inſtantly to declare war againſt France. The circumſpection which ought always to attend a new reign then prevailed in the councils of this crown. Their finances were then in that ſtate of confuſion, into which they had been plunged by twenty years perſeverance in folly. The ruined ſtate of their navy then raiſed anxiety in the breaſt of every citizen. Spain, already haraſſed with her extravagant expedition againſt Algiers, was then ſurrounded with difficulties which would have prevented her from being able to aſſiſt her allies. England might, without raſhneſs, have flattered herſelf with ſucceſs againſt the moſt powerful of her enemies; and might have intimidated America, by victories obtained in it's neighbourhood. The importance it was of to this crown, to deprive it's rebellious ſubjects of the only ſupport they were certain of, would have diminiſhed the indignation excited by the violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties.

GEORGE III. ſaw nothing of all this. The clandeſtine ſuccours which the court of Verſailles uſed to ſend to the provinces in arms for the de-

fence of their rights did not open his eyes. The dock-yards of this power were filled with ſhip-builders; it's arſenals were ſtocking with artillery, and there remained no more room in it's magazines for freſh naval ſtores. It's harbours preſented the moſt menacing aſpect; and yet this ſtrange infatuation ſtill continued. To rouze the court of St. James's from it's lethargy, it was neceſſary that Lewis XVI. ſhould cauſe it to be ſignified to them on the 14th March, that he had acknowleged the independence of the United States.

This declaration was a declaration of war. It was impoſſible that a nation, more accuſtomed to give than to take an affront, ſhould patiently ſuffer that it's ſubjects ſhould be releaſed from their oath of allegiance, and be raiſed with ſplendour to the rank of ſovereign powers. All Europe foreſaw that two nations which had been rivals for ſo many centuries, were going to ſtain with blood the waters of the ocean, and engage again in that terrible conflict in which public proſperity can never compenſate private diſtreſs. Thoſe in whom ambition had not extinguiſhed every ſentiment of benevolence towards their fellow-creatures, previouſly deplored the calamities which were ready to fall upon the human race in both hemiſpheres.

The bloody ſcene however was not yet begun, and this delay inſpired ſome credulous perſons with the hopes that peace would continue. It was not know'n that a fleet had ſailed from Toulon with directions to attack the Engliſh in the

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North of America. It was not know'n, that there were orders ſent from London to drive away the French out of the Eaſt Indies. Without being initiated in theſe myſteries of perfidy, which an inſidious policy hath made to be conſidered as great ſtrokes of ſtate, men who were really enlightened, judged that hoſtilities were unavoidable, and even near at hand on our own ocean. This foreſeen event was brought about by an engagement between two frigates on the 17th June 1778.

HERE our taſk becomes more and more difficult. Our ſole aim is to be uſeful and true. Far from us be that ſpirit of party which faſcinates and diſgraces thoſe who lead mankind, or who aſpire to inſtruct them. Our wiſhes will be for our country, and we ſhall pay homage to juſtice. In whatever place, and under whatever form virtue ſhall preſent herſelf to us, we ſhall honour her. The diſtinction of ſociety and of ſtates cannot eſtrange us from her, and the juſt and magnanimous man will every where be our fellow-citizen. If in the different events which we review, we have the courage to blame what appears to us to deſerve it, we do not ſeek the melancholy and idle ſatisfaction of dealing out indiſcriminate cenſure. But we addreſs ourſelves to the nations and to poſterity. It is our duty faithfully to tranſmit to them whatever may influence the public felicity. It is our duty to give them the hiſtory of the faults that are committed, in order that they may be inſtructed to avoid them. Should we dare to betray this noble duty, we

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ſhould perhaps flatter the preſent generation, which is fleeting and paſſeth away; but juſtice and truth, which are eternal, would denounce us to future generations, which would read us with contempt, and would never pronounce our name without diſdain. In this long career we have undertaken, we will be juſt to thoſe who ſtill exiſt, as we have been to thoſe who are no more. If among men in power there be any who are offended with this liberty, we will not be afraid to ſay to them, that we are only the organs of a ſupreme tribunal, which is at length erected by reaſon upon an immoveable foundation. Every government in Europe muſt henceforth dread it's decrees. The public opinion, which becomes more and more enlightened, and which is neither ſtopped nor intimidated by any thing, is perpetually attentive to nations and to courts. It penetrates into cabinets where policy is ſhut up; there it judges the depoſitaries of power, their paſſions, and their weakneſs, and by the empire of genius and knowlege raiſes itſelf above the governors of mankind, either to direct or to reſtrain them! Woe to thoſe who either diſdain this tribunal or ſet it at defiance! This apparent boldneſs ariſes only from inability. Woe to thoſe whoſe talents are inſufficient to bear it's examination! Let them do themſelves juſtice, let them lay down a burthen too heavy for their feeble hands. They will at leaſt no longer compromiſe themſelves and the States.

France began the war with invaluable advantages. The place, the time, the circumſtances,

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every thing ſhe had choſen. It was not till after having made preparations at leiſure, till after having brought her forces to that degree which was proper, that ſhe ſhewed herſelf upon the field of battle. She had only to combat an enemy humbled, weakened, and diſcouraged by domeſtic diſſentions. The favour of the other nations was on her ſide againſt thoſe imperious maſters, or as it was ſaid, againſt thoſe tyrants of the ſeas.

The events ſeemed favourable to the wiſhes of all Europe. The French officers, who had former humiliations to efface, exerted themſelves in brilliant actions, the remembrance of which will laſt for a long time. A ſkilful theory and an undaunted courage ſupplied any deficiency there might be on the point of experience. In all the private engagements they came off with glory, and moſt of them terminated to their advantage. The Britiſh fleet was expoſed to ſtill greater dangers than the ſeparate ſhips were. It was ſo ill treated, that it's total or partial deſtruction was apprehended, if the fleet which had reduced it to this deplorable ſtate off Uſhant, had not determined from timid orders, from odious intrigues, from the weakneſs of the admirals, or from all theſe motives combined, to quit the ſea and re-enter firſt into port.

In the intoxication of this ſucceſs, perhaps unexpected, France ſeemed to loſe ſight of her moſt important intereſts. Her principal object ſhould have been to intercept the trade of her enemies, to deprive them of the double ſtrength they

they derived from their ſailors and from their riches, and thus to ſap the two foundations of Engliſh greatneſs. Nothing was more eaſy to accompliſh by a power long prepared for hoſtilities, than to intercept the trading navy, entirely off it's guard, and attended with very feeble convoys. But this was neglected, and the immenſe riches which Great Britain expected from all parts of the globe, entered quietly into her harbours even without the leaſt loſs.

The trade of France, on the contrary, was haraſſed in both hemiſpheres, and intercepted every where. Her colonies beheld the ſubſiſtence which they were expecting, with all the anxiety of want, carried off from their own coaſts, and the mother-country found itſelf deprived of fourſcore or a hundred millions * almoſt within her own view. Theſe misfortunes certainly aroſe from ſome cauſe which we will endeavour to inveſtigate.

The French navy had for a long time been unfortunate, and it's numerous calamities were attributed to the defect of it's conſtitution. Several attempts were made either to modify or to alter the regulations; but theſe innovations, whether good or bad, were always rejected with more or leſs viſible diſdain. At length the admirals dictated themſelves in 1776, an ordnance, which, by making them abſolute maſters of the harbours, of the arſenals, of the docks, and of the magazines, deſtroyed that mutual ſuperinten-

* From 3,333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. to 4,166,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

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dence which Lewis XIV. had thought proper to eſtabliſh between the officers of the navy and thoſe of adminiſtration. From that time there was no more order, no more reſponſibility, no more economy in the ports; every thing there fell into confuſion and diſorder.

The new plan had ſtill a more fatal influence. Till that period the miniſtry had directed their naval operations in a manner ſuitable to their political plans. This authority was transferred, without being perceived, perhaps to thoſe who were to carry theſe operations into execution; and they imperceptibly acquired the tint of their prejudices, which led them to believe that it was not by heavy and laborious eſcorts of the ſhips of the nation, or by remaining for a length of time on difficult cruiſes, in order to ſurpriſe or deſtroy the veſſels of the enemy, that a reputation was to be attained. This double duty was therefore either entirely neglected or very ill fulfilled on account of the general opinion prevailing at Breſt, that ſuch a ſervice had nothing noble in it, and did not lead to any kind of glory.

It muſt be owned, that this prejudice is a very ſingular one, and entirely contrary to all the laws of ſociety. What can have been the intention of the States in inſtituting this military force deſtined to traverſe the ſeas? Was it only to procure rank to thoſe who commanded or ſerved in it? To give them an opportunity to exert a valour uſeleſs to any but themſelves? To ſtain another element with blood, with carnage, and ſea-fights? Certainly not. The warlike fleets

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are upon the ocean; what fortreſſes and ramparts are for the citizens of towns, and what national armies are for the provinces expoſed to the ravages of the enemy? There are ſome kinds of property attached to a ſoil, others are created and tranſported by commerce, and are, as it were, wandering upon the ocean. Theſe two ſpecies of property required defenders. Warriors, this is your duty. What ſhould we ſay if the land-forces refuſed to protect the inhabitants of the cities, or the huſbandmen of the field againſt the enemy, or to extinguiſh the conflagration which threatens the harveſt. Officers of the navy, you think yourſelves degraded in protecting and convoying the merchantmen. But if commerce be deprived of protectors, what will become of the riches of the State, part of which you undoubtedly expect as a reward for your ſervices? What will become, for yourſelves, of the revenues of your lands, which can only be made fruitful by trade and by the circulation of wealth? You think yourſelves degraded. What! degraded in rendering yourſelves uſeful to your fellow-citizens? What are then all the orders of the State, to whom government hath intruſted ſome portion of the public ſtrength, but the protectors and the defenders of the citizen and his fortune? Your poſt is upon the ſeas, as that of the magiſtrate is upon the tribunals, that of the land officer and of the ſoldier in the camps, that of the monarch upon the throne, where he is only placed upon a more elevated ſituation, in order that his proſpect may be extended to a greater diſtance,

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and that he may behold at one view all thoſe who require his protection or his defence. You aſpire to glory. Learn that glory is every where to be obtained by ſerving the State. The antient Romans were likewiſe undoubtedly attached to glory, and yet the honour of having preſerved one ſingle citizen in Rome, was preferred to that of having deſtroyed a multitude of enemies. Do you not perceive, that in ſaving the trading ſhips you ſave the wealth of the State? Yes, your valour is brilliant, it is know'n to all Europe, as well as to your own country; but what is it to your fellow-citizens that it hath been diſplayed on a ſplendid occaſion, that it hath taken one of the enemy's ſhips, or covered the waves of the ocean with wrecks and ruins; if you ſuffer all the veſſels which conveyed the riches of your country, to be either taken or deſtroyed; if in the very port to which you return victorious, a multitude of deſolated families deplore the ſubverſion of their fortune? You will not hear the exclamations of victory on your arrival. All will be ſilent and plunged in conſternation, and your exploits will ſerve no other purpoſe but to ſwell the accounts of the courts, and to fill thoſe public papers, which, being invented to amuſe idleneſs, give glory only for a day, when that glory is not engraved in the hearts of the citizens by the remembrance of ſome real ſervice done to the country.

The maxims adopted at Portſmouth were very different. There the dignity of commerce was felt and reſpected. It was conſidered as a duty,

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as well as an honour to defend it, and events decided, which of the two navies had the propereſt ideas of their functions?

GREAT BRITAIN had juſt experienced ſome very humiliating adverſities in the New World, and it was threatened with greater diſaſters by a ſtill more powerful enemy in the Old one. This alarming ſituation filled the minds of all men with miſtruſt and uncertainty. The national riches came home ſafe, and their enormous maſs was increaſed by thoſe of the rival power; public credit was inſtantly revived, expectations were renewed, and this people, who with ſatisfaction were looked upon as overcome, recovered and ſuſtained their uſual pride.

ON the other hand, the French ports were filled with lamentations. A degrading and ruinous inactivity ſucceeded to that activity which gave them ſplendour and riches. The indignation of the merchants communicated itſelf to the whole nation. The firſt moments of ſucceſs are the moments of intoxication, which ſeem either to conceal or to juſtify the faults committed. But misfortune gives greater ſeverity to opinion. The nation then attends more cloſely to thoſe by whom they are governed, and demands from them, with arrogant freedom, an account of the power and authority that is intruſted to them. The councils of Lewis XVI. were accuſed of derogating from the majeſty of the firſt power on the globe, by diſavowing, in the face of the univerſe, the ſuccour which they were inceſſantly ſending clandeſtinely to the Americans. They

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were accuſed of having either by a miniſterial intrigue, or by the influence of ſome obſcure agents, engaged the State in a ruinous war, at a time when they ought to have been employed in repairing the ſprings of government, in remedying the tedious diſorders of a reign, the latter half of which had been mean, feeble, divided between depredations and ſhame, between the baſeneſs of vice and the convulſions of deſpotiſm. They were accuſed of having provoked a rupture by an inſidious policy, to have enveloped their meaning in ſpeeches unworthy of France, and to have employed, with regard to England, the language of a timorous boldneſs, which ſeemed to deny the projects that were formed, and the ſentiments they had in their hearts; a language which can only degrade the perſon who makes uſe of it, without being able to deceive him to whom it is addreſſed; and which diſhonours, while the diſhonour it brings along with it can neither be uſeful to the miniſtry nor to the ſtate. How much more noble would it have been to have ſaid with all the frankneſs of dignity: "Engliſhmen, you have abuſed your victory. "This is the moment to be juſt, or elſe it will "be that of revenge. Europe is tired of bearing "with tyrants. She at length reſumes her "rights. Henceforth chooſe either equality or "war." It is thus that Richelieu would have ſpoken; that Richelieu, whom every citizen ought indeed to deteſt, becauſe he was a ſanguinary aſſaſſin, and that in order to become a deſpot, he put all his enemies to death with the

ax of the executioner; but the nation and the ſtate muſt revere him as a miniſter, becauſe he was the firſt who apprized France of her dignity, and aſcribed to her in Europe the rank which belonged to her power. It is thus that Lewis XIV. would have ſpoken to them, who during forty years ſhewed himſelf worthy of the age he lived in, whoſe very faults were always mixed with grandeur, and who even, in a ſtate of dejection and misfortune, never degraded himſelf or his people. A great character is required to govern a great nation. More eſpecially, there muſt be none of thoſe ſpirits that are cold and indifferent from levity, for whom abſolute authority is no more than an amuſement, who leave great intereſts to the effects of chance, and who are more employed in preſerving power than in making uſe of it. It is further aſked, why men, who had all the power of the ſtate in their hands, and who had only to command in order to be obeyed, have ſuffered themſelves to be foreſtalled in all the ſeas by an enemy whoſe conſtitution neceſſarily produces delays? Why did they put themſelves, by an inconſiderate treaty, into the ſhackles of congreſs, which might itſelf have been kept dependent by plentiful and regular ſubſidies? Laſtly, why did not they ſecure the revolution, by keeping conſtantly upon the Northern coaſts of the New World a ſquadron to protect the colonies, and at the ſame time to make our alliance be reſpected. But Europe, whoſe eyes are fixed upon us, beholds a great deſign, and no concerted meaſures; it beholds in our arſenals

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and in our ports immenſe preparations and no execution; it beholds formidable fleets and this equipment rendered almoſt uſeleſs; it beholds boldneſs and valour in individuals, effeminacy and irreſolution in commanders; every thing which announces on one hand the aweful power of a great people, and on the other, every thing which announces the weakneſs and delay which ariſe from character and from the nature of the views.

It is by this ſtriking contraſt between our projects and our meaſures, between our means and the ſpirit which animates them, that the Engliſh genius aſtoniſhed for a moment, hath recovered it's vigour; and it is a problem which Europe cannot ſolve, whether, in declaring for America, we have not ourſelves raiſed the ſtrength of England.

Such are the complaints which are hear'd on all ſides, and which we are not afraid of collecting here, and of laying before the eyes of authority, if it ſhould deign to liſten to or to read them.

Lastly, philoſophy, whoſe firſt ſentiment is the deſire of ſeeing all governments equitable, and all people happy, in examining this alliance of a monarchy with a people who defend their liberty, endeavours to diſcover the motive of it. It perceives too clearly that the happineſs of mankind hath no concern in it. It imagines, that if the court of Verſailles had been determined by the love of juſtice, they would have mentioned in the firſt article of the convention with America, that *all people who are oppreſſed have a right to riſe againſt*

againſt their oppreſſors. But this maxim, which conſtitutes one of the laws of England, which a king of Hungary, upon aſcending the throne, ventured to make one of the conſtituent principles of the ſtate, and which Trajan, one of the greateſt princes who ever ruled over the earth, adopted, when in preſence of the Roman people aſſembled, he ſaid to the firſt officer of the empire: *I give you up my ſword to defend me while I ſhall be juſt, and to fight againſt me and to puniſh me if I ſhould become a tyrant.* This maxim is too foreign to our feeble and corrupt governments, where it is the duty of the people to ſuffer, and where the oppreſſed man ſhould be apprehenſive of feeling his misfortune, for fear he ſhould be puniſhed for it as a crime.

But it is particularly againſt Spain that the moſt bitter complaints are directed. She is cenſured for her blindneſs, her irreſolutions, her delays, ſometimes even for her want of fidelity; but all theſe accuſations are groundleſs.

Some politicians imagined, when they beheld France engaging without neceſſity in a naval war, that this crown thought itſelf ſufficiently powerful to ſeparate the dominion of Great Britain, without ſharing with an ally the honour of this important revolution. We will not examine whether the ſpirit which prevailed in the cabinet of Verſailles authorized this conjecture. It is now know'n, that this crown, which ſince the beginning of the troubles had given ſecret aſſiſtance to the Americans, watched the propitious moment for declaring openly in their favour.

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The event of Saratoga appeared to furniſh the moſt favourable opportunity to propoſe to his Catholic Majeſty to join in the common cauſe. Whether this prince then thought that the liberty of the United States was contrary to his intereſts; whether the reſolution appeared to him to be precipitate, or whether, in a word, other political objects required his whole attention, he refuſed to accede to this propoſal. His character prevented any further ſolicitations. Since thoſe firſt attempts he was ſo little troubled about this great affair, that it was without giving him any previous notice, that the court of Verſailles cauſed it to be ſignified to that of St. James's, that they had acknowleged the independence of the confederate provinces.

In the mean while the land and ſea-forces which Spain had employed in the Brazils againſt the Portugueze were returned. The rich fleet ſhe expected from Mexico had entered into her ports. The treaſures which were coming to her from Peru and from her other poſſeſſions were in ſafety. This power was free from any anxiety and miſtreſs of her own operations, when ſhe aſpired to the glory of introducing peace into both hemiſpheres. Her mediation was accepted, both by France, whoſe boldneſs had not been followed by thoſe happy conſequences ſhe had expected from it, and by England, who might be apprehenſive of having a new adverſary to contend with.

Spain not having ſucceeded in

Charles III. ſupported with dignity the magnanimous part he had undertaken. He declared that

conciliating England with France, declares for the latter of these powers.

that arms ſhould be laid aſide; that each of the belligerent powers ſhould be maintained in the poſſeſſions they might occupy at the period of the convention; that a Congreſs ſhould be formed, in which the ſeveral pretenſions ſhould be diſcuſſed; and that no new attack ſhould be commenced without the previous notice of a twelvemonth.

This monarch was aware that this arrangement would give to Great Britain the felicity of reconciliation with her colonies, or at leaſt would make them purchaſe by great advantages for her trade the ſacrifice of the ports which ſhe occupied in the midſt of them. Nor was he ignorant of his offending the dignity of the king his nephew, who had engaged to maintain the United States in the entire poſſeſſion of their territories. But he would be juſt; and without ſetting aſide all perſonal conſiderations it is impoſſible to be ſo.

This plan of conciliation was diſpleaſing to the court of Verſailles, and the only hope they had was, that it would be rejected at London, as indeed it was. England could not reſolve to acknowlege the Americans *ipſo facto* independent, although they were not invited to the conferences that were going to be opened; although France was not allowed to negociate for them; although their intereſts were only to be ſupported by a mediator, who was not attached to them by any treaty, and who, perhaps, in ſecret, did not wiſh them to proſper, and although her refuſal threatened her with an additional enemy.

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It is in ſuch a ſituation, when pride elevates the ſoul above the ſuggeſtions of fear, that nothing appears formidable, except the ſhame of receiving the law; and that there is no heſitation in chooſing between ruin and diſhonour: it is then that the greatneſs of a nation diſplays itſelf. I acknowlege, however, that men, accuſtomed to judge of the event, conſider great and perilous revolutions as acts of heroiſm or of folly, according to the good or ill ſucceſs that hath attended them. If, therefore, I ſhould be aſked, what name will be given a few years hence to the firmneſs which the Engliſh ſhewed on this occaſion; I ſhall anſwer, that I know not: as to that which they deſerve I know very well. I know that the annals of the world rarely preſent to us the auguſt and majeſtic ſpectacle, of a nation which prefers the giving up of it's duration to the loſs of it's glory.

No ſooner had the Britiſh miniſtry explained themſelves, than the court of Madrid took the part of that of Verſailles, and conſequently that of the Americans, in the conteſt. Spain had then ſixty-three veſſels of the line, and ſix more upon the ſtocks. France had fourſcore and eight upon the docks. The United States had but twelve frigates, but a great number of privateers.

To ſo many forces united, England had only ninety-five ſhips of the line to oppoſe, and three and twenty upon the ſtocks. The other ſixteen which were ſeen in her ports were unfit for ſervice, and they had been converted to the purpoſe of ſhips for receiving priſoners, or into

hoſpital ſhips. Thus inferior in the inſtruments of war, this power was ſtill more ſo in the means of employing them upon ſervice. Her domeſtic diſſentions contributed ſtill more to render ineffectual the reſources ſhe had remaining. It is the nature of governments that are truly free, to be agitated in times of peace. It is by theſe inteſtine commotions that the minds of men preſerve their energy, and the perpetual remembrance of the rights of the nation. But in time of war it is neceſſary that every ferment ſhould ceaſe, that hatred ſhould be extinguiſhed, and that intereſts ſhould be blended, and made ſubſervient to each other. It happened quite otherwiſe in the Britiſh iſlands; for the diſturbances in them had never been more violent. Oppoſite claims were never ſupported on any occaſion with leſs moderation. The general good was inſolently diſregarded by all factions. Thoſe houſes, in which the moſt important queſtions had formerly been diſcuſſed, with eloquence, ſtrength, and dignity, reſounded only with the clamours of rage, groſs inſults, and altercations as prejudicial as they were indecent. The few perſons who might be called citizens loudly exclaimed for a new Pitt, a miniſter, who like him had *neither relations nor friends*; but this extraordinary man did not appear. And indeed it was generally believed that this nation would fall, notwithſtanding the haughtineſs of their character, notwithſtanding the experience of their admirals, notwithſtanding the boldneſs of their ſeamen, and not-

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withſtanding the energy which a free people muſt acquire in the diſturbances they experience.

But the ſway of chance is very extenſive. Who knows in favour of which party the elements will declare themſelves? A guſt of wind ſnatches away victory, or gives it. A cannon ſhot diſconcerts a whole army, by the death of the general. Signals are either not well underſtood, or not obeyed. Experience, courage, and ſkill, are counteracted by ignorance, by jealouſy, by treaſon, and by the certainty of impunity. A fog ariſing, covers both the enemies, and either ſeparates or confounds them. A calm and a ſtorm are equally favourable or diſadvantageous. The forces are divided by the unequal celerity of the ſhips. The opportunity is loſt, either by puſillanimity, which poſtpones, or by raſhneſs, which haſtens an engagement. Plans may have been formed with prudence, but they may remain without effect, by the want of harmony in the evolutions for carrying them into execution. An inconſiderate command from court may decide the misfortune of a day. The diſgrace or death of a miniſter alters the projects. Is it poſſible that a cloſe union can long ſubſiſt between confederates of ſuch oppoſite characters, as the French, who are paſſionate, diſdainful, and volatile; the Spaniards, who are ſlow, haughty, jealous, and cold; and the Americans, who have conſtantly their looks turned towards the mother-country, and who would rejoice at the diſaſters of their allies, if they were compatible with their own independence?

ence? Will it be long before theſe nations, whether they act ſeparately or in concert, reciprocally accuſe, complain, and are at variance with each other? Will not their greateſt hope be, that repeated ſtrokes of adverſity would only at moſt plunge them again into the humiliating ſtate from whence they wiſhed to emerge, and confirm the dominion of the ſeas to Great Britain; while one or two conſiderable defeats would for ever remove this ambitious people from the rank of the firſt power of this hemiſphere?

Who can therefore decide; who can even foreſee what will be the event? France and Spain united have the moſt powerful means in their favour; England hath the art of managing her own: France and Spain have their treaſures, England hath a great national credit. On one hand are the multitude of men, and the number of troops; on the other, the ſuperiority in the art of conducting ſhips, and of ſubduing the ſea in engagements. Here there is impetuoſity and valour; there valour and experience. On one hand, the activity which abſolute monarchy may give to the meaſures; on the other, the vigour and the energy of liberty. One party is ſtimulated by reſentment for loſſes, and by a long-continued ſeries of outrages they have to avenge; the other, by the recollection of a recent glory, and by their having the ſovereignty of America, as well as that of the ocean, to preſerve. The two allied nations have the advantage which is derived from the union of two immenſe powers; but at the ſame time the inconvenience which re-

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ſults from this very union, by the difficulty even of preſerving harmony and concord, either in the plans or in the diſpoſal of their forces. England is abandoned to herſelf; but having nothing but her own forces to direct, ſhe hath the advantage of unity in her deſigns; of a more certain, and perhaps more ſpeedy combination of ideas. She can with greater facility regulate at one view her plans of attack and defence.

In order to have an exact idea of things, one ought alſo to examine the different energy which may be communicated to the rival nations by a war, which on one ſide is no more in ſeveral reſpects than a war of kings and miniſters; and on the other, a really national war, in which the greateſt intereſts of England are concerned, a commerce, which conſtitutes her riches; an empire, and a glory, which compoſe her greatneſs.

Finally, if we conſider the ſpirit of the French nation, in contraſt with that of the nation ſhe is at war with, it will be found that the ardour of the French is perhaps equally ready to be excited and to be extinguiſhed; that their hopes are very ſanguine at the beginning, and that they deſpair of every thing as ſoon as they are ſtopped by any obſtacle; that by their character they require the enthuſiaſm of ſucceſs, in order to obtain freſh advantages. The Engliſh, on the contrary, leſs preſumptuous at firſt, notwithſtanding their natural boldneſs, know how to ſtruggle courageouſly, to be elevated in proportion to the increaſe of danger, and to acquire ſteadineſs by diſgrace: like the ſturdy oak, to which Horace compares

compares the Romans, which, though cut by the ax, and mutilated by iron, revives under the ſtrokes which it receives, and acquires new vigour even from it's wounds.

History informs us, moreover, that few leagues have ever divided the ſpoils of the nation againſt which they had been formed. Athens triumphant over Perſia; Rome ſaved from Annibal; in modern times, Venice preſerved from the famous league of Cambray; and even in our days, Pruſſia, which by the genius of one ſingle man hath held out againſt all Europe; all theſe examples authorize us to ſuſpend our judgment reſpecting the iſſue of the preſent war.

What ought to be the policy of the houſe of Bourbon, ſhould it be victorious.

But, let us ſuppoſe that the houſe of Bourbon ſhall have obtained all the advantages they may flatter themſelves with, what conduct ought they to purſue?

France is, in every point of view, the empire the moſt ſtrongly conſtituted of any one the remembrance of which is preſerved in the annals of the world. Spain, though not to be compared with her, is likewiſe a ſtate of great weight, and her means of proſperity are increaſing daily. The principal care of the houſe of Bourbon, then, ſhould be, to induce their neighbours to overlook the advantages which they derive from nature or from art, or which they have acquired by events. If they ſhould endeavour to increaſe their ſuperiority, the alarm would become general, and people would think themſelves threatened with univerſal ſlavery. It is, perhaps, rather extraordinary, that the nations have not thwarted

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thwarted her projects againſt England. This ſupineneſs muſt have been occaſioned by the reſentment which the injuſtices and the haughtineſs of that ſuperb iſland have excited in all parts. But hatred is ſuſpended when intereſt is concerned. It is poſſible, Europe may judge the weakening of Great Britain in the New and in the Old Hemiſphere to be contrary to her own ſecurity; and that, after having enjoyed the ſpectacle of the humiliations and the dangers of that proud and tyrannical power, ſhe may at length take up arms in her defence. Should this happen, the courts of Verſailles and Madrid would find themſelves diſappointed in the hopes which they had conceived, of acquiring a decided preponderance upon the globe. Theſe conſiderations ſhould determine them to urge on the attacks, and not to leave time to a provident, or perhaps only a jealous policy, to make freſh plans. Let them eſpecially ſtop in time, and let not an immoderate deſire of lowering their common enemy blind them with regard to their true intereſts.

The United States have openly diſcovered the project of drawing all North America into their confederation. Several ſteps, and particularly that of ſoliciting Canada to rebellion, muſt have induced an opinion, that it was likewiſe the deſire of France. Spain may be ſuſpected of having equally adopted this idea.

The conduct of the provinces which have ſhaken off the yoke of Great Britain is ſimple, and ſuch as one would expect. But would not their

their allies be deficient in foreſight, if they had really the ſame ſyſtem? The New Hemiſphere muſt one day be detached from the Old. This great evulſion is prepared in Europe, by the ferment and by the claſh of opinions; by the overthrow of our rights, which conſtituted our courage; by the luxury of our courts, and the miſery of our country places; by the everlaſting hatred there is between effeminate men who poſſeſs every thing, and robuſt, and even virtuous men, who have nothing to loſe but their lives. It is prepared in America, by the increaſe of population, of cultures, of induſtry, and of knowlege. Every thing is tending towards this ſeparation, both the progreſs of evil in one world, and the progreſs of good in another.

But can it be ſuitable to France and Spain, whoſe poſſeſſions in the New Hemiſphere are an inexhauſtible ſource of wealth, can it be ſuitable to them to haſten this diviſion? Yet this is what would happen, if the whole northern part of thoſe regions were ſubject to the ſame laws, or connected by one common intereſt.

Scarce would the liberty of this vaſt continent be confirmed, than it would become the aſylum of all the intriguing, ſeditious, branded, or ruined men, who are ſeen amongſt us. Neither agriculture, the arts, nor commerce, would be the reſource of refugees of this character. A leſs laborious, and more turbulent life, would be neceſſary for them. This turn of mind, equally averſe from labour and reſt, would be diſpoſed to conqueſts; and a paſſion which is ſo ſeducing would

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would readily ſubdue the firſt coloniſts, diverted from their antient labours by a long war. The new people would have finiſhed their preparations for invaſion before the report of them could have reached our climates. They would chuſe their enemies, their field of battle, and the moment of victory. Their attacks would always fall upon defenceleſs ſeas, or upon coaſts taken by ſurprize. In a ſhort time the ſouthern provinces would become the prey of the northern ones, and would compenſate, by the richneſs of their productions, for the mediocrity of thoſe of the latter. Perhaps even the poſſeſſions of our abſolute monarchies would endeavour to enter into the confederation of free people, or would detach themſelves from Europe, to belong only to themſelves.

The meaſures which the courts of Madrid and Verſailles ought to purſue, if they are at liberty to chuſe, is to leave ſubſiſting in the northern part of America, two powers which ſhall watch over, reſtrain, and balance each other. Then ages will elapſe before England, and the republics formed at her expence, will be united. This reciprocal miſtruſt will prevent them from undertaking any thing at a diſtance; and the eſtabliſhment of other nations in the New World will enjoy that ſtate of tranquillity which hitherto hath been ſo much diſturbed.

It is even probable, that this order of things would be moſt ſuitable to the confederate provinces. Their reſpective limits have not been regulated. A great jealouſy prevails between the countries

countries of the North and thoſe of the South. Political principles vary from one river to another. Great animoſities are obſerved to ſubſiſt between the citizens of a town, and the members of a family. Each of them will be deſirous of removing from themſelves the oppreſſive burthen of the public expences and debts. An infinite number of ſeeds of diviſion are univerſally brooding in the heart of the United States. When once all dangers were removed, how would it be poſſible to prevent the breaking out of ſo many diſcontents? How would it be poſſible to keep attached to the ſame center, ſo many deluded and exaſperated minds? Let the real friends of America reflect upon this, and they will find, that the only way to prevent diſturbances among the people, would be to leave upon their frontiers a powerful rival, always diſpoſed to avail itſelf of their diſſentions.

PEACE and ſecurity are neceſſary for monarchies; agitation, and a formidable enemy for republics. Rome ſtood in need of Carthage; and he who deſtroyed the liberty of the Romans was neither Scylla nor Cæſar; it was the firſt Cato, when his narrow and ſtern ſyſtem of politicks deprived Rome of a rival, by kindling in the ſenate thoſe flames which reduced Carthage to aſhes. Venice herſelf perhaps would have loſt her government, and her laws, four hundred years ago, if ſhe had not had at her gates, and almoſt under her walls, powerful neighbours, who might become her enemies or her maſters.

BUT

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What idea muſt be formed of the thirteen confederated provinces.

But according to this ſyſtem, to what degree of felicity, ſplendour, and ſtrength, can the confederate provinces attain in proceſs of time?

In this place, to form a proper judgment, let us begin by ſetting aſide that intereſt which all men, ſlaves not excepted, have taken in the generous efforts of a nation, which expoſed itſelf to all calamities in order to be free. The name of liberty is ſo alluring, that all thoſe who fight for it are ſure of obtaining our ſecret wiſhes in their favour. Their cauſe is that of the whole human race, and becomes our own. We avenge ourſelves of our oppreſſors, by venting at leaſt freely our hatred againſt foreign oppreſſors. At the noiſe of theſe chains that are breaking, it ſeems to us that our's are going to become lighter; and for a few moments we think we breathe a purer air, when we learn that the univerſe reckons ſome tyrants leſs. Beſides, theſe great revolutions of liberty are leſſons to deſpots. They warn them not to reckon upon too long a continuance of the people's patience, and upon eternal impunity. So, where ſociety and the laws avenge themſelves of the crimes of individuals, the good man hopes that the puniſhment of the guilty may prevent the commiſſion of freſh crimes. Terror ſometimes ſupplies the place of juſtice with regard to the robber, and of conſcience with regard to the aſſaſſin. Such is the ſource of the great concern we take in every war for liberty. Such hath been that with which the Americans have inſpired us. Our imaginations have

have been heated in their favour. We have taken a part in their victories and their defeats. The ſpirit of juſtice, which delights in compenſating former calamities by future happineſs, is pleaſed with the idea, that this part of the New World cannot fail to become one of the moſt flouriſhing countries on the globe. It is even ſuppoſed, that Europe may one day find her maſters in her children. Let us venture to reſiſt the torrent of opinion, and that of public enthuſiaſm. Let us not ſuffer ourſelves to be miſled by imagination, which embelliſhes every thing; and by ſentiment, which delights in forming illuſions, and which realizes every hope. It is our duty to combat all prejudices, even thoſe which are moſt conſonant to the wiſhes of our hearts. Above all things, it behoves us to be true, and not to betray that pure and upright conſcience which preſides over our writings, and dictates our judgments. At this moment, perhaps, we ſhall not be believed; but a bold conjecture, which is confirmed at the end of ſeveral centuries, does more honour to the hiſtorian, than a long ſeries of facts, the truth of which cannot be conteſted: and I do not write for my cotemporaries alone, who will only ſurvive me a ſmall number of years. When a few more revolutions of the ſun are paſſed, both they and I ſhall be no more. But I deliver up my ideas to poſterity, and to time. It is their's to judge me.

The ſpace occupied by the thirteen republics, between the mountains and the ſea, is no more than ſixty-ſeven ſea leagues; but their extent upon

upon the coaſt, in a direct line, is three hundred and forty-five, from the river of Sancta Crux to that of Savannah.

THE lands in that region are almoſt generally bad, or at leaſt indifferent.

SCARCE any thing but maize grows in the four moſt northern colonies. The only reſource of the inhabitants is fiſhing, the annual produce of which doth not amount to more than 6,000,000 of livres *

CORN is the principal ſupport of the provinces of New York, the Jerſeys, and Pennſylvania. But the ſoil hath degenerated ſo rapidly, that an acre, which formerly yielded ſixty buſhels of wheat, very ſeldom produces even twenty at preſent.

THOUGH the lands of Maryland and of Virginia be much ſuperior to all the reſt, yet they cannot be deemed extremely fertile. The ancient plantations yield no more than one third of the tobacco which was formerly gathered. It is not poſſible to make any new ones; and the planters have been reduced to the neceſſity of turning their labours towards other objects.

NORTH CAROLINA produces ſome grain, but of ſo inferior a quality as to be ſold in all markets twenty-five or thirty per cent. cheaper than the others.

THE ſoil of South Carolina and of Georgia is perfectly even, as far as fifty miles from the ocean. The exceſſive rains which fall there not

* 250,000 l.

finding

finding any outlet, form numerous moraſſes, where rice is cultivated to the great detriment of the freemen and of the ſlaves employed in this culture. In the intervening ſpaces between theſe large bodies of water ſo frequently met with, an inferior kind of indigo grows, which muſt be tranſplanted every year. In the elevated part of the country nothing is to be found except barren ſands and frightful rocks, interſected at great diſtances by paſture grounds of the nature of ruſhes.

The Engliſh government, convinced that North America would never enrich them by it's natural productions, employed the powerful incentive of gratuities in order to produce in that part of the New World, flax, vines, and ſilk. The poorneſs of the ſoil diſconcerted the firſt of theſe views; the defect of the climate prevented the ſucceſs of the ſecond, and the want of hands did not permit the third to be purſued. The ſociety eſtabliſhed in London for the encouragement of arts was not more fortunate than adminiſtration. Their benefactions did not bring forth any of the objects which they had propoſed to the activity and induſtry of thoſe countries.

Great Britain was obliged to be contented with ſelling every year to the countries we are ſpeaking of, to the amount of about 50,000,000 livres* of merchandize. Thoſe by whom they were conſumed delivered to her excluſively their indigoes, their iron, their tobacco, and their pel-

* 2,083,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

tries. They alſo delivered to her all the money and rough materials which they had received from the reſt of the globe in exchange for their grain, their fiſh, their rice, and their ſalt proviſions.

THE balance however was always ſo unfavourable to them that at the beginning of the troubles the colonies were indebted one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty millions of livres * to the mother-country, and they had no ſpecie in circulation.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe diſadvantages, there had been ſucceſſively formed in the midſt of the thirteen provinces, a population of two millions nine hundred eighty-one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-eight perſons, including four hundred thouſand Negroes. New inhabitants were conſtantly driven there by oppreſſion and intoleration. The unfortunate have been deprived of this refuge by war; but peace will reſtore it to them again; and they will reſort there in greater numbers than ever. Thoſe who ſhall go there with plans of cultivation, will not have all the ſatisfaction they may expect, becauſe they will find all the good, and even the indifferent lands occupied, and that ſcarce any thing remains to offer them, except barren ſands, unwholeſome moraſſes, or ſteep mountains. The emigrations will be more favourable to manufacturers and to artiſts, though perhaps they will gain nothing by changing their country and their climate.

* From 5,000,000 l. to 5,416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

It cannot be determined without raſhneſs, what will one day be the population of the United States. This calculation, generally very difficult, becomes impracticable in a region where the lands degenerate very rapidly, and where reproduction is not in proportion to the labours and expences beſtowed upon them. It will be a conſiderable thing, if ten millions of men can ever find a certain ſubſiſtence in theſe provinces, and even then the exports will be reduced to little or nothing: but internal induſtry will ſupply the place of foreign induſtry. The country will nearly be able to ſupply it's own wants, provided the inhabitants know how to be happy by œconomy, and in mediocrity.

People of North America, let the example of all the nations which have preceded you, and eſpecially that of the mother-country, ſerve as a leſſon to you. Dread the influence of gold, which, with luxury, introduces corruption of manners and contempt of the laws. Dread too unequal a repartition of riches, which indicates a ſmall number of wealthy citizens, and a multitude of citizens plunged in miſery; from whence ariſes the inſolence of the former and the degradation of the latter. Keep yourſelves free from the ſpirit of conqueſt. The tranquillity of an empire diminiſhes in proportion as it extends itſelf. Have arms to defend yourſelves, but not to attack. Search for affluence and health in labour; for proſperity in the cultivation of the lands, and in the manufactures of induſtry, for ſtrength in good manners and in virtue. Encourage the proſperity of the arts and ſciences,

ſciences, which diſtinguiſh the civilized man from the ſavage. Attend, above all things, to the education of your children. Be convinced, that from public ſchools come forth enlightened magiſtrates, valiant and well-informed officers, good fathers, good huſbands, good brothers, good friends, and honeſt men. Wherever depravity of manners is obſerved among the youth, the nation is upon it's decline. Let liberty have a firm and unalterable baſis in the wiſdom of your conſtitutions, and let it be the everlaſting cement which connects your provinces together. Eſtabliſh no legal preference between the modes of divine worſhip. Superſtition is every where innocent, where it is neither protected nor perſecuted; and may your duration, if poſſible, be long as that of the world!

May this wiſh be accompliſhed, and conſole the preſent expiring race with the hopes that a better will ſucceed to it! But waving the conſideration of future times, let us take a view of the reſult of three memorable ages. Having ſeen in the beginning of this work the ſtate of miſery and ignorance in which Europe was plunged in the infancy of America, let us examine to what ſtate the conqueſt of the New World hath led and advanced thoſe that made it. This was the deſign of a book undertaken with the hopes of being uſeful; if the end be anſwered the author will have diſcharged his duty to the age he lives in, and to ſociety.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.